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CHRONICLE OF JOHN MALALAS
BOOKS VIII-XVIII

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Chronicle of John Malalas

Books VIII-XVIII

Translated from the Church Slavonic

by

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ABBREVIATIONS OF MANUSCRIPTS

- A = Archive codex: Moscow Archive of the Ministry of Foreign Affairs, No. 279/658, formerly No. 902/1468.
Ch = Chudov codex No. 51/353.
S = Synodical codex: Library of the Synod, No. 280.
V = Vilna codex No. 147.
Sophia = Sophia codex: Sophia Library, St. Petersburg Theological Academy, No. 1454.
The MSS in accordance with which the various Books were edited are noted at the beginning of each Book.

ABBREVIATIONS OF TEXTS

- B. = *Ioannis Malalae Chronographia*, ed. L. Dindorf (Bonn, 1831), cited by page and line.
Tusc. = Tusculan fragments of Malalas in *Spicilegium Romanum*, ed. A. Mai, vol. II, pt. 2 (Rome, 1839), cited by page.
Exc. = *Excerpta de insidiis*, ed. C. de Boor (*Excerpta historica iussu Imp. Constantini Porphyrogeniti confecta*, III, Berlin, 1905), cited by page and line.
Evag. = Evagrius, *Ecclesiastical History*, ed. J. Bidez and L. Parmentier (London, 1898), cited by book and chapter.
Chr. Pasch. = *Chronicon Paschale*, ed. L. Dindorf (Bonn, 1832), cited by page.
Joh. Nik. = John of Nikiu, *Chronicle*, transl. R. H. Charles (London, 1916), cited by chapter and section.
Theoph. = Theophanes, *Chronicle*, ed. C. de Boor (Leipzig 1883-5, 2 vols.), cited by page and line of vol. I.
Cramer, *An. Par. II* = *Anecdota Graeca Parisiensia*, ed. J. A. Cramer, II (Oxford, 1839), cited by page.

INTRODUCTION

The objective motivating the task in hand is quite modest: namely, to supply a faithful and accurate translation of V. M. Istrin's edition of the Slavonic version of John Malalas' *Chronicle*, Books VIII-XVIII. No attempt was made to verify Istrin's published text by comparing it with the extant MS codices. For the present purpose, his edition formed the sole basis of the translation. Moreover, the work incorporates many of Istrin's footnotes, although everything not conducive to a better understanding of the English translation of the *Chronicle* was omitted. Of course, many new footnotes, especially such as were intended to explain corruptions of the Slavonic text, or to call attention to corruptions which have defied all attempts to elucidate or emend, or to other supplementary or explanatory material, were added by the editors. Notes consisting of lists of Slavonic transliterations of Greek words, or other expressions of interest only to Slavonic philologists, were not included. The introductions by which Istrin prefaced the different sections of his edition were summarized and incorporated in this general introduction; accordingly, they were omitted from the translation of the text.

Since the special interest with which this task was undertaken centers in the extensive references made by the author to the city in which much of his life had been spent, only those books were included in the translation which deal with Antioch. Accordingly, the work begins

with Book VIII, in which the founding of Antioch is described. Moreover, the previous books, dealing with the period from the creation of the world to that of Alexander the Great, are of very limited interest.

Istrin published his edition of the Slavonic version in small installments which were scattered in a number of periodicals of various Russian learned societies. The entire work appeared in the following publications:

The first book was published in the *Zapiski Akademii Nauk*, series VIII, I, No. 3 (1897). The second, in the *Lêtopisi Istoriko-filologicheskago Obshchestva pri Novorossiiskom univers.*, X, *Vizant.-slav. otd.*, VII (1902). The fourth, *ibid.*, XIII, *Vizant.-slav. otd.*, VIII (1905). The fifth, *ibid.*; the sixth and seventh, in the *Sbornik otdêl. russkago yazyka i slovesnosti Akademii Nauk*, v. LXXXIX. The eighth and ninth, *ibid.* The tenth, in the *Lêtopisi Istoriko-filologicheskago Obshchestva pri Novorossiiskom univers.*, XVII (1913). The eleventh to fourteenth in the *Sbornik otdêl. russkago yazyka i slovesnosti Akademii Nauk*, v. XC. The fifteenth to eighteenth, *ibid.*, v. XCI.

The work of translation is a co-operative project. The translation proper is the work of the undersigned, who is wholly responsible for whatever shortcomings it may possess. Dr. Glanville Downey, whose expert knowledge of the entire field of the study of Malalas made him peculiarly well fitted for the task, has rendered most valuable service in this common enterprise by comparing the English translation with the available Greek texts. He has contributed so many helpful suggestions toward the correction of the English translation, and has suggested solutions for so many difficulties with which the Slavonic text abounds by reason of corrupt text or mistranslation,

that it gives me a particular pleasure to acknowledge gratefully his notable contributions. Dr. Downey has also supplied many footnotes, the bibliography, and the index; moreover, his painstaking revision of the entire manuscript has improved the work to a degree which it could not otherwise have possessed.

Besides, I wish to express my sincere thanks to Professor George V. Bobrinsky of the University of Chicago, who has very kindly assisted me in the revision of the translation and has contributed valuable suggestions in this respect.

In this connection I take great pleasure in acknowledging with a sense of gratitude the kindness of the members of the committee of the Spears Bequest of the Department of Art and Archaeology of Princeton University, whose financial aid has made the publication of this work possible.

In rendering the proper names, the procedure has usually been to give the English or Latin form, or where there is none, the Greek form. When the form in which the name appears in the Slavonic text is distorted or abbreviated, or is of interest for a special reason, it has been given in transliteration, in parentheses. When it has not been possible to establish the English or Latin or Greek form, the name is given only in transliteration of the Slavonic form. In certain instances, names are preserved in different forms in the *codex Baroccianus* and in the fragments preserved elsewhere; e. g., the names of consuls sometimes differ materially in the *codex Baroccianus* and in the Latin *Laterculus imperatorum Malalianus*. Since it does not fall within the scope of this edition to decide such questions, or to attempt to establish the Greek

text, the form of the name which appears in the Slavonic text in such cases has been transliterated.

In Books XIII-XVIII the principal passages in which Malalas appears to have been quoted or used by later writers have been noted in footnotes. No attempt has been made to distinguish between the passages in which Malalas seems to have been quoted more or less verbatim and those in which his work seems to have been paraphrased or merely used as a source, since work of this kind lies beyond the limits of the present edition. Such passages have not been noted in Books X-XII, since they have already been collected in Schenk von Stauffenberg's edition of these books; and it has not been possible to undertake the collection of similar *parallela* and *testimonia* for Books VIII-IX.

It was thought advisable to present here a very brief résumé of the current critical opinion regarding the Slavonic translation of Malalas' *Chronicle*. This survey makes no claim to being an independent revaluation of the whole subject, but is merely a statement based on the work of several modern specialists, the most important of whom are V. M. Istrin and Miloš Weingart.¹

The question of primary interest to the scholar is the relation of the Slavonic version to the Greek text. The latter, as is well known, has been preserved in an incomplete form only in the *codex Baroccianus* 182 at Oxford, supplemented by various fragments discovered later. Formerly, great hopes had been entertained that the Slavonic version might be of great value in supplementing and restoring the extant Greek text. Accordingly, the Slavonic version was subjected to an extended critical

¹ M. Weingart, *Byzantské kroniky v literatuře církevněslovanské* (Bratislava, 1922-23), 2 vols.

study, the results of which do not fully justify the somewhat extravagant former expectations. In the first place, it was established that the Slavonic version we now possess is not a direct translation but only a transcript from an earlier codex which can be definitely traced only to 1262. This date is actually mentioned in the two transcripts known as the Vilna and the Archive codices.² In the second place, the translation betrays peculiarities in its form. At the time when the theory that the Slavonic version was a direct translation was still held, all kinds of fanciful theories regarding its authorship and provenience were entertained. With the surrender of this theory the speculation regarding the definite identity of the translator and his dates and nationality were likewise abandoned. To be sure, it is still thought that the original translator was a Bulgarian who lived possibly as early as the tenth century, but beyond this nothing more can be affirmed. As long as the original translation is not available at present, it is unprofitable to speculate about its character in detail. But since we do not possess the original Slavonic version, we must give up the idea that we can accurately judge the Greek original by what we do have.

Accordingly, all we possess are the two codices known as the Vilna and the Archive manuscripts, and the portion preserved in the so-called Hellenic and Roman Annalists. These are excerpts from the complete translation of the *Chronicle*, which undoubtedly existed at one time. This complete text was used in ancient Russia in the compilation of chronicles. It has been conclusively shown that the author of one of the most ancient of these literary productions, the Hypatian *Chronicle*, writing in the year 1114, used the Slavonic translation of Malalas' *Chronicle*. Another of

² Weingart, *op. cit.*, I., 28.

these productions, as has already been mentioned, was the compilation dated 1262. This work is no longer extant, but two transcripts preserve an abbreviated text of it. Of these, the Vilna transcript is older, and has preserved more faithfully the version of the common source than the Archive transcript. Both of these transcripts are of Russian provenience, the former showing unmistakable traces of a Lithuanian, Western Russian place of origin, and the latter of South Russian origin. Besides these, the text has been preserved in an early compilation of various chronicles known in the history of Slavonic literature as the Hellenic and Roman Annalists.

The lost codex of 1262, according to the studies of Istrin on the basis of reliable internal evidence inferred from the surviving transcripts, was likewise of Lithuanian provenience. It was based on an old-Bulgarian translation of Malalas' *Chronicle*, which was certainly in existence late in the eleventh century, and may have been produced even earlier. But, as has been already mentioned, who the translator was, and what the exact date of his work was, cannot be determined. Furthermore, Istrin concluded that the lost codex of 1262 was characterized by such unusual interest in Hebrew and Jewish materials that it represented an attempt to compile a chronicle of Jewish history, a title which Istrin gave to this lost work.

The Vilna transcript is estimated to have originated in the thirteenth century. The Archive transcript is placed in the fifteenth century. Only the first ten books of the Slavonic version were preserved independently in the Archive and Vilna codices. The remaining books, the eleventh to the eighteenth, are found imbedded in one of the earliest collections of chronicles which were given the general designation of the Hellenic and Roman Annalists.

This collection is known in two redactions, the text of the first of which is closer to the original source than the second. The MSS belonging to the first redaction comprise the Moscow Synodical, No. 280, and the Pogodin, No. 1437; the second redaction is represented by the Cyrillo-Belozersk, No. 1/6, Synodical, No. 86, and Chudov, No. 51/353.

Istrin's edition of Books VIII, IX and X was based on the Archive codex (the Moscow Archive of the Ministry of Foreign Affairs, No. 279/658, formerly No. 902/1468) and on the Vilna codex No. 147. Besides these two main sources, the version of the Hellenic Annalists of both redactions was employed. These books were preserved far from complete. Items in Book X omitted in the Archive codex were taken either from the Hellenic Annalists of the first redaction (Synodical MS No. 280), or from the second redaction (Chudov, No. 51). Besides, there is a version of it in a MS of the Sophia Library, No. 1454, although this consists of meagre fragments. In the codex of the Sophia Library, No. 1459, "are preserved sorry remains of these particular books, in which a few items are not to be found in the Archive codex and in the Hellenic Annalist."³

Books XI-XVIII of the Slavonic version are not found in the Archive and the Vilna codices, but only in the two redactions of the Hellenic and Roman Annalists. "Lacking now the text of the Archive codex," says Istrin, "which stands apart from the Hellenic Annalists, we do not possess an adequate criterion for this or that peculiarity of the Slavonic text." Nothing more than a few fragments remains of Books XI and XII. Al-

³ Istrin, Introduction to Books VIII and IX.

though Books XIII and XIV were preserved more fully, nevertheless in comparison with the Greek text the Slavonic version appears meagre. Professor Shestakov pointed out that the Slavonic version of these books is closer in some instances to the *Chronicon Paschale* than to *codex Baroccianus*. But such instances, of which Istrin has given a few examples, are of no great importance. Istrin sums up the whole matter as follows: "As an analysis of the preserved parts shows, the text of the two redactions of the Hellenic Annalist, forming one common group, represents a later development in its history; it follows, therefore, that this text can still less pretend to the rôle of the restorer of the original (Greek). For it has passed through the hands of at least two redactors. That is the status of the second half of the *Chronicle*, beginning with Book XIII. Accordingly, where the text of the Hellenic Annalist deviates from the Greek version, it is far from possible always to explain the reason for such deviation: whether to ascribe it to one of the editors of the Hellenic Annalist, or to an earlier editor whose work was also used by the author of the Archive codex, or to impute it to the original version of the translation, or, finally, to see in it traces of a separate Greek text which has not come down to us."

The concluding books of the *Chronicle*, XV-XVIII, were likewise preserved only in an abbreviated form. This applies particularly to Book XVIII. But Books XVII and XVIII contain passages which are not to be found in the *codex Baroccianus*. This entire concluding section was edited by Istrin in accordance with the Synodical MS No. 280 (the first redaction of the Hellenic Annalist), and the text was emended by comparing it with the Chudov MS No. 51/353 (of the second redac-

tion). The latter version, although departing in some cases from the earlier versions "retained in some instances a text which is very close to the primary original. The Greek text serves as a criterion in such instances."

The state of preservation of the Slavonic version edited by Istrin leaves much to be desired. But in the first place, the Slavonic translator himself cannot be held guiltless. To be sure, Istrin says of him that he "obviously knew the Greek language well, and had good command of the Slavonic language"; moreover, it is generally known that the Greek of Malalas' *Chronicle* is *sui generis*, and unusually difficult to translate; yet there is a residuum of mistranslations which must be charged against the Slavonic translator. In this connection it is pertinent to point out that the latter did not choose to produce a literal translation of the Greek original, but for the greatest part paraphrased it. Nevertheless, in some instances the divergences are plainly due to misunderstanding. Such cases as the editors were able to unravel are pointed out in footnotes; in others they failed, for the Greek text was not available for comparison. Besides, the extant text, owing to faulty condensation, or to corruption consequent upon transcription, presents a large number of instances of readings which are corrupt to a greater or less degree. Where these instances were serious enough to affect the meaning, they have been pointed out in explanatory footnotes. In less serious cases, where it was a question merely of variants or misspellings, or faulty grammar, or other very numerous inaccuracies, which did not however mar the meaning of the sentence, no reference has been made to them. The English translator, however, would have been deeply grateful to the editor of the Slavonic text, had the latter expanded his footnotes to include his

reconstruction of the most difficult and corrupt passages, or had he pointed them out.

Finally, as far as the value of the Slavonic text for the restoration of the original Greek text is concerned, by means of supplementing what is altogether omitted, and correcting what is corrupt, the version still possesses a considerable importance in this respect. Undoubtedly, the discovery of fragments which supplement the Bodleian MS, and the realization that the extant Slavonic version is not the original translation, but merely a transcript of condensed extracts of that original translation, have sadly disappointed the somewhat extravagant hopes which had been formerly entertained in this regard. Nevertheless, the more modest estimate which now prevails as the result of critical investigations described above, is far from denying the Slavonic version all value. Despite the fact that it must be used with extreme caution, the version still yields a modicum of information not to be found in the Greek text, and affords a sort of criterion by which it is possible to reconstruct some of the latter's corrupt readings. At any rate, when the needed task of producing a critical edition of the Greek text of Malalas is undertaken, the Slavonic version must of necessity be taken into consideration.

MATTHEW SPINKA

BOOK EIGHTH¹

I. (B. 196-201). [After² the death of Alexander in the year 57, all Egypt with Lybia had been commanded by Alexander to be held and governed by Ptolemy called Lagos, an astronomer, who ruled for forty-two years. Then ruled the second Ptolemy, of Ptolemy, his son. In the reign of this Ptolemy the Jewish books were translated into the Greek language by seventy-two teachers in seventy-two days. For this Ptolemy wished to understand the force of the books in the Greek language, since they had been written in Hebrew. After his reign ruled the third Ptolemy, Philadelphus, for thirty-seven years. Then the fourth, Euergetes (Euregitis), ruled twenty-five years; after him, the fifth Ptolemy, Philopator, ruled seventeen years. After him ruled the sixth Ptolemy, Epiphanes, for twenty-five years. Thereafter the seventh, Philometor, who ruled eleven years. Thereafter five other czar Ptolemies ruled for one hundred seven years, the twelfth Ptolemy, called Dionysus (Dionusisos), ruling twenty-nine years. He had a daughter, Cleopatra, and a son named Ptolemy. The thirteenth Ptolemy tempted³ Cleopatra. The daughter of this Dionysus ruled twenty-nine years. The twenty Ptolemies of Macedonia ruled the whole country of Egypt⁴ from Ptolemy Lagos to Cleopatra, the daughter of Diony-

¹ Book viii was edited in accordance with the Archive codex.

² The beginning, to the fourteenth line, was taken from the Vilna MS.

³ May mean *seduced*; a variant reading of the word yields the meaning of *looked askance at*.

⁴ Omitted in V.

sus, for three hundred years, till the fifth day of the fifth year of the reign of Caesar Augustus Octavianus Sebastos, who defeated Antony and that Cleopatra in the country of Epirus in warships at the place Leucadia. And having cut them down, he subjugated all Egypt,⁵ as the most wise Eusebius of Pamphili, and Pausanias⁶ the chronicler, describe. He commanded that Asia be held and governed by Antigonus nicknamed Poliorcetes (Poliakritos), to Cilicia and the river Drakont, which is now called Orent, and which divides the country of Cilicia and Syria which is called Typhon⁷ and Ophites. Syria, Babylon, and Palestine he commanded to be held and governed by Seleucus Nicator, who ruled in Asia, having killed Antigonus. It is said that he quarreled⁸ with him because he founded a city near the lake and river Drakont and named it Antigonía. And having defeated him, Seleucus took all Asia and all the treasures and the czardom of Antigonus. Seleucus ordered voevods, Nicomedes and Nicander, his relatives, the sons of his sister Didymea, and a nephew of Antiochus, surnamed Soter, the son of Seleucus, that they build⁹ a village in Asia. The same Seleucus Nicator secured his wife, Apama the virgin by name, in a war with the Parthians. He married her,¹⁰ having killed¹⁰ her father, though she had been betrothed to the Great Strategos of the Parthians.¹¹ She, Apama, bore Seleucus two daugh-

⁵ V adds, *under the Roman rule*.

⁶ *sosypatoruniya* in V; Greek, "Pausanias" (*Ioannis Malalae Chronographia*, ed. L. Dindorf, [Bonn, 1831], 197, 17); hereafter to be referred to only by giving the page and the line.

⁷ Corrected according to S; the Greek, "Typhon," 198, 21; in the MS, *Tugon*.

⁸ The Slavonic phrase is corrupted; the Greek reads, "He waged war with him because he founded a city . . ."

⁹ Repeated in the MS.

¹⁰ *married and killed*, V.

¹¹ Corrected according to S; the Greek, "of the Parthians," 198, 12; repeated in the MS.

ters, Apama and Laodice. But the Parthian Apama having died, he married another, a most beautiful virgin, Stratonice by name, daughter of Demetrius of Antigonus, called Poliorcetes, whom he had killed. [S]eleucus¹² discovered her in the city of Rhosos (Ros), where she was in hiding with her father, Demetrius. The city of Rhosos had been built by Kilik, the son of [A]genor.¹³ Seleucus had a daughter by Stratonice whose name was Phila. Seleucus reigned over Syria and Asia, Babylon and Palestine, for forty-three years. Seleucus Nicator, immediately after defeating Antigonus Poliorcetes, wishing to build many cities, made the first beginning at the sea of Syria. And having reached the sea, he saw a small city on the mountain which he heard was called Palaeopolis, which had been built by Suros, the son of Agenor. In the month of Xanthikos, (that is) April, on the twenty-third, he ascended the mountain which was named Casius, in order to sacrifice to the Zeus of Casius. And having completed the sacrifice and cut up the meat, he prayed to know where he should establish the town. And immediately [an eagle],¹⁴ seizing the meat from the altar, carried it toward Palaeopolis. Seleucus and the horsemen accompanying him pursued it, and found the meat thrown down on the sea-shore below Palaeopolis, in the trading place¹⁵ of Pieria. And having marked out the city, he immediately laid its foundations; he called the city Seleucia, after his own name. And having prayed, he went up to Iopolis, and

¹² *elevk* in the MS; corrected to *Seleuk* in V; the Greek, "Seleukos," 198, 17.

¹³ *ginorov* in the MS, V, S, and Ch; the Greek, "Agenoros," 198, 19.

¹⁴ Taken from V; the Greek, "eagle," 199, 7.

¹⁵ The Slavonic word is a corruption; the Greek text has "in the trading-place," 199, 10.

[after]¹⁶ three days celebrated a feast of Zeus, in the temple which had been built by Perseus, the son of Picus and Danae, located on Mount Silpion where Iopolis is.¹⁷ He built Antioch after the name of his son, Antiochus, surnamed Soter. He destroyed Antigonia to the foundations, and carried thence by water all that was fit for use. The city of Rhosos had been built by Kilik, the son of Agenor.

II. (B. 201-204). Seleucus, after the destruction of the city of Antigonia, transported the Anigea¹⁸ to the great city of Antioch, which he himself had built, and the inhabitants of Antigonia who had been left there by Antigonus and Demetrius, his son, and other Macedonians. All together they numbered five thousand three hundred men. He set up [in]¹⁹ the city of Antioch an awesome copper statue on account of the Athenians who did not worship her.²⁰ He also brought a judge from the Acropolis, whom Kasos, the son of Czar Inachus, had left to live on the mountain top. He removed to Antioch with Cypriotes, because Czar Kasos had married Amyce, called Kitia (Amukia Kuntinyna), the daughter of Salamin, the Czar of Cyprus. And the Cypriotes arriving with her, settled in the Acropolis. On her account the country was called Amyce. He also brought the Argive Ionites from the city of Iopolis²¹ to Antioch. He ordered that the months be designated both in Syrian and Macedonian. He found monsters living in those parts. For there is a place²² two

¹⁶ Taken from V; the Greek, "after," 199, 13.

¹⁷ Here the Slavonic version omits B. 199, 16—200, 18.

¹⁸ The Slavonic translator's mistake for *the Athenians*.

¹⁹ Taken from V; the Greek, "in," 201, 17.

²⁰ The Greek text omits "not" in the phrase "*did not worship her*." 201, 18.

²¹ *nopola* in V; the Greek, "Iopoleos," 202, 5.

²² *a place having*, a literal translation of the Greek phrase, 202, 10.

stadia²³ from the city of Antioch, containing²² human bodies destroyed by the wrath of God, which to this day are referred to as giants. Even a certain so-called *Pargan*, a monster, living in that place, was devoured by fire. This is to be understood that even the Antiochenes of Syria (Asuria) inhabit the land of giants. He likewise built another city in Syria, Laodicea by name, which had been former[ly]²⁴ a village called *Mazabda* (*Mavdan*), where he made an offering to Zeus. He also built another city, after the name of his daughter *Apama* (*Pama*),²⁵ *Apamia* (*Pamia*), which had formerly been called *Pharnace* (*Phariakum*). For this Seleucus had come from Pella, a city of Macedonia. He likewise built other cities in different regions, and even in the Persian territories, to the number of seventy-five, as Pausanias stated. He named them after his own name and that of his children. Pausanias wrote that he had named Antioch after the name of his father, because the father of Seleucus was Antiochus. But no one, building a city, gives it the name of one dead, for that is an insult, but²⁶ of one living. For he called the city of Antioch after the name of his son, Antiochus. Many other things the most wise Pausanias had written with skill. The same Seleucus had planted cypresses from Heraclea of Heracles, in Heraclea, which is now called Daphne. This same city was built²⁷ outside²⁸ a grove by the temple of Athena. For the altar of Apollo is called Daphne's, and is in the middle of that

²³ The Greek text has "miles," 202, 10.

²⁴ In the MS, *by*, corrected in the Vilna to *formerly*; the Greek, "formerly having been," 203, 1.

²⁵ *Apamy* in Ch, S; the Greek, "Apamas," 203, 12.

²⁶ In the MS, *after*; the Greek, "but," 204, 5.

²⁷ In the MS, *set up*; the Greek, "was built," 204, 14.

²⁸ In the MS, *was near*; the Greek, "outside the grove," 204, 14.

grove. It was here that Heracles (Raklis) first invented the art of wrestling. Seleucus died in Hellespont (Lispont) at the age of seventy-two, and was buried (in)²⁹ Seleucia of Syria.

III. (B. 204-207). Thereupon, his son, Antiochus, surnamed Soter, reigned twenty years. This Antiochus fell in love with his step-mother, the daughter of Demetrius, and made her his wife, and had with her two sons, Seleucus, who died in infancy, and [A]ntiochus, surnamed Theoeides (Pheondis). After Antiochus Seleucus died, he was succeeded by Antiochus Theoeides, who ruled fifteen years. Then his son, Seleucus Callinicus (Kalia), whom Berenice had borne him, ruled twenty and four years. Then Alexander Nicator four years; and Antiochus Grypus thirty-six years; and Seleucus Philopator ten years; and Antiochus, surnamed Epiphanestatos, twelve years. During his reign a pestilence of boils broke out and many died in the city. But a scholar, Leios by name, ordered that an immense face be carved in the rock above the town, with a wreath, looking down upon the city and holding a trumpet.³⁰ Thereupon, he wrote something upon it, and thus stopped the scrofulous death. That face even to the present is called Kharation.³¹ This Czar built in Antioch a council hall outside the city of Antioch, where all nobles, citizens, and householders gathered and took counsel which then they brought before him. He also erected other buildings named after his name. This Czar Antiochus become angry with Ptolemy, the Egyptian Czar,

²⁹ The preposition *in* is omitted; accordingly, the text might read: *and Seleucus of Syria was buried.*

³⁰ *holding a trumpet* represents a misunderstanding of "facing the hollow" (i. e., a part of the city), 205, 11.

³¹ *Kharapion*, in V, *Kharonion* in S; the Greek, "Kharonion," 205, 13.

because he had collected tribute from his subjects, the Jews. These Jews came from Palestine to Antioch and prayed Antiochus to write to Ptolemy,³² the Egyptian Toparch and Czar, not to collect taxes from them as they had brought from thence wheat for their food, since there was a great famine in Palestine. For Jews bought wheat in Egypt. But Ptolemy, receiving letters from Antiochus, again ordered a collection of taxes from them. Antiochus immediately took the field with his army against Ptolemy, because he had³³ disregarded his letters. And encountering each other, a great multitude of the soldiers of Antiochus fell. He himself ran away and reached the boundary. Upon being informed of it, the Jews living in Jerusalem celebrated a festival, rejoicing in Ptolemy's joy, supposing that Antiochus had died. But it happened not to be as they had supposed. Antiochus, having gathered a numerous army, suddenly came upon Ptolemy, killed him,³⁴ and slaughtered a great number of his (people). Upon learning that the Jerusalem Jews had³⁵ conspired against him³⁶ and had rejoiced in his defeat, he took up arms against Jerusalem, and tortured many to death. And he destroyed the Jewish sanctuary, renaming the temple of Solomon after Zeus Olympius, after defiling it with the flesh of swine. He compelled the Jews to renounce the faith of their fathers and forced them into Hellenism. Then his son, Antiochus "*zekry*" (bluish-grey)³⁷ surnamed

³² In the MS, *otolomeyu*; in V *optolomeyu*; the Greek, "to Ptolemy," 206, 4.

³³ So in V; in MS, variant; the Greek, "was not persuaded (by)," 206, 10.

³⁴ In the MS, *them*; the Greek, "him," 206, 16.

³⁵ The MS adds *not*.

³⁶ *and* added in V.

³⁷ This represents the Greek epithet "Glaukos," that is, "bluish-grey," 207, 5.

Hierax, reigned two years. Thereupon, Demetrianus of Seleucus reigned eight years. A certain Judah by name, a Jew by religion, came to Antioch the Great and prayed Czar Demetrianus that he might give him the temple and the relics of the Maccabees. Then he buried them in Antioch the Great in a place named Kerateon, where a congregation³⁸ of the Jews existed. Near the city of Antioch, Antiochus tormented them in Mount Aklionst, opposite to the Zeus of Casius. This was the second fall of Jerusalem, as the all-wise Eusebius Pamphili wrote. Then this Antiochus Demetrianus died.

IV. (B. 207-208). Antiochus, the grandson of Grypus, the son of Laodice,³⁹ the daughter of Ariarathes (Arianph), the Czar of Cappadocia, reigned nine years. Antioch the Great⁴⁰ suffered from God's wrath in the eighth year of his reign, at ten o'clock in the morning, on the twenty-first of the month of Peritios (Perevitia),⁴¹ of the reign of the Macedonians which extended to⁴² the first foundation of the city by Seleucus Nicator for 152 years. It was restored, as Domninus the chronicler described. So did Pausanias. After Antiochus, the grandson of Grypus, reigned Antiochus Euprepes, who, being oppressed by the Parthians, gathered against them many armies. Many Parthians having come to conclude,⁴³ perished. He married his son Antiochus, surnamed Cyzicenus (Kuzikan), to the daughter of Eparch Arsaces,

³⁸ Or *synagogue*.

³⁹ In the MS, *modokin*; the Greek, "Laodike," 207, 18.

⁴⁰ The MS and V add the phrase, *its first command*; S and Ch. *the first torture*.

⁴¹ *peretiya* in Ch, S; the Greek, "peritio," 208, 1.

⁴² should read *after*; the Greek, "after," 207, 21.

⁴³ To complete the sense, the word "peace" must be understood; cf. the note on p. 36 (of Istrin's text).

who had opposed him. Her name was Brittane (Vritania). This terminated the war. After this Antiochus, three other czars of their dynasty reigned, up to the reign of Antiochus Dionysus, the leper, the father of Cleopatra and Antiochis.

V. (208-211). During the years of the above-mentioned Antiochus Dionysus, Pyrrhus (Puros), the Czar, that is, the Toparch⁴⁴ of Epirus, the regent, rose up against the Romans to whom⁴⁵ a prediction had been made, that he should die such a death. And when the army of Kurios, Consul of the Romans, encountered him, it defeated him. And running away, Pyrrhus approached a city where a dwelling stood outside the city walls. And a certain woman dropped a tile on his head and wounded him. After that there was a consul who killed in a battle the Macedonian Czar, Perseus (Prsa)⁴⁶ by name, and capturing Macedonia, made it subject to Rome. Sallust makes a mention of him in the writings about the Greeks. And after them reigned in his country Perseus of Epirus, a pirate, who occupied Salonica. This Perseus was mentioned by Eutropius, a Roman writer, in the translation of his books. He also mentions Palaiphatos (Palefat).⁴⁷ This pirate, Perseus, was killed in fight by Lucius (Lukiog) Paulus, another Roman consul. A certain man, Hannibal (Ameval) by name, Rex of Africa, tyrannized Rome for twenty years, for it was without a czar, having been

⁴⁴ A variant in S, Ch; the Greek, "toparches," 208, 17.

⁴⁵ i. e., to Pyrrhus, not the Romans; cf. the Greek text (208, 17).

⁴⁶ *Persa* in V; the Greek, "Persen," 209, 1.

⁴⁷ The Greek: "Palaiphatos also made mention of these things," 209, 7; the Slavonic translator misunderstood the sentence, unless the form of the name, *Palefata*, was regarded by him as being in the nominative case. In that event, the sentence should read as the Greek does.

administered by consuls. He destroyed the greater part of all⁴⁸ Italy, and conquered it in war, and killed the above-mentioned Paulus. The nobles of Rome appointed a consul, strong and powerful in every way, especially in war, the great Scipio. He, who yet in the time of Hannibal had ruined Africa (Avrikia), burned the city of Carthage, of which Hannibal was Rex, and plundering and seizing everything, returned with his nobles to Rome. Being informed about it, Hannibal went to Bithynia to Antiochus, the Czar of Asia, and prayed⁴⁹ for his assistance. Macedonians, ever since Alexander the Macedonian, preserved with the Romans sworn love, for they had helped Alexander with an army against Darius. Antiochus, the Czar of Asia, obeying Hannibal,⁵⁰ joined him and went with him against the Romans, sailing⁵¹ with his army from Bithynia. Hearing this, the Roman armies appointed a strong consul, Scipio the Second by name, the brother of the first Scipio. They sent him against both Antiochus, the Czar of Asia, and Hannibal, Rex, that is,⁵² of Africa. He encountered them both and had a great fight with them. Many fell; and Hannibal, seeing Scipio's overwhelming forces, ran away and poisoned himself with a deadly potion. When Antiochus saw that Hannibal had fled, he took to his heels.⁵³ Scipio pursued him up to the mountain of Isauria, which is named Tauros. And going thence, he (Antiochus) besought him (Scipio, saying), that he held no enmity against the Romans, but merely had rendered

⁴⁸ In the MS and V, *villages*; Greek, "all," 209, 12.

⁴⁹ V adds *him*; Greek, "him," 210, 2.

⁵⁰ In the MS, *Annil*.

⁵¹ *and sailing with the army* in Ch, S; Greek, "trusting in his own army," 210, 6; the word in the text is a corruption.

⁵² V, S, Ch, add: *the czar*.

⁵³ Literally, *he turned his spine*, i. e., back.

help to others. Scipio acquiesced and made him a subject of Rome by the order of the nobles of Rome, and to pay⁵⁴ the Romans annually four talents of gold and an equal amount of silver throughout his life. And Scipio gave a feast to which he invited him (Antiochus), gave him the first place, and honored him as czar. And Scipio returned with glory to Rome, as the all-wise Florus quoted from the books of the all-wise Livy.

VI. (B. 211-213). In the fifteenth year of the above-mentioned Antiochus the leper, Czar of Syria, a certain Tigranes by name, Czar of the Armenians, came and fought Antiochus in a great fight. Antiochus was defeated by Tigranes, who took possession of Antioch, the great city, and their kingdom, and everything Czar Antiochus had. The latter escaped to the Persian territory of Tigranes.⁵⁵ At the same time, Pompey Magnus was sent from Rome by Caesar Julius,⁵⁶ and came against Cilicia (Kili),⁵⁷ which had risen against him. Having defeated the Cilicians, he had a fight with Tigranes, the Armenian Czar. And having vanquished him, Pompey took possession of Armenia, Cilicia, and Syria, destroying their capitals and thus avenging the Antiochenes. Entering the city of Antioch, he subjected them to the Romans, but gave them many gifts. He built them a council house; for it had fallen. They requested him (for a new one).⁵⁸

⁵⁴ Might be *let him give*; the Greek, "on condition that he pay," 210, 20-1.

⁵⁵ The Slavonic translator misunderstood the Greek, which says (211, 10) that "Antiochus . . . escaped Tigranes (by going) to the Persian territory."

⁵⁶ *Iulia* in V.

⁵⁷ V has *Kiliky*; Ch. *Kilikiyu*; the Greek, "against the Cilicians," 211, 12.

⁵⁸ The three short sentences are so condensed that the meaning is not quite clear.

He was honored by them as being descended from the Athenians. A certain man by the name of Byblos (Vuvlos) and his strong *strategos*, built, at a village called Jove, by the Phoenician sea, a city and surrounded it with walls, and called it Byblos after his own name. As for the awesome statue of Athena, which Seleucus had made, as well as the proud statue of Zeus the Thunderer, which had also been made by the same Seleucus, securing the permission of the Antiochenes, he took them to Rome and sent them to the Capitolium, she being a great goddess who was in duty bound to the Romans. These statues still exist. Above them is this inscription: the people of the great city of Antioch fashioned these statues in gratitude to and honor of the Romans. Czar Antiochus, having heard of the death of Tigranes, the Czar of Armenia, and of Pompey's victory, came and fell down before him, praying for the restoration of his kingdom. Pompey, being won over, gave him the rule over Syria, Cilicia, and everything that Antiochus had held before. At that time lived Cicero and Sallust, the all-wise Roman scholars. Czar Antiochus of Dionysus dying, left his possessions with all else to the Romans. Thus after the death of Czar Antiochus Dionysus, Antioch the Great was again under the Romans, as well as all Syria, Cilicia, and everything else that had been held by the Macedonians. The Macedonians ruled in Antioch the Great, as well as Syria and Cilicia and the other countries, from Seleucus Nicator to the Roman assumption, for 263 years.

BOOK NINTH¹

I. (B. 214-217). ¹ Julius Caesar, after the death of Irokan,² who had been captured by the Persians in war in the Persian territories, fought with his armies in the western territories. Having been deposed from the consulship by the council of all Roman nobles and by Pompey Magnus, his father-in-law, Julius Caesar in sorrow returned against the Romans. Allying himself with their consuls, he began a war against the Roman nobles and Pompey Magnus. Encamping before Rome, he captured and slaughtered all its nobles. Pompey,³ who came out against Caesar, saw that he could neither withstand him nor fight with him; he left the western countries, and fled East, thinking to retain these latter. Julius Caesar, assuming rule over Rome and all western territories, arming himself against Pompey Magnus, overtook him in Egypt, and killed him, as Lucan (Luknios) the writer⁴ has related. So Julius Caesar⁵ who proclaimed himself a dictator,⁵ was the first to assume the rule over Rome alone and began to rule over all of it. The Macedonians, who after the death of Seleucus Nicator had grown weak, left the Babylonian country, permitting⁶ the Persians to appoint in the future their own czar.

¹ This chapter is edited in accordance with the Archive codex.

² *Krasa*, Ch, S; the Greek, "Krassos," 214, 9.

³ V adds, *Magnus, his father-in-law*.

⁴ V adds, *and Eusebius Pamphili also writes about it in his books*.

⁵ Not in Ch, S, and B, 215, 13.

⁶ V, *asking*, 215, 16.

Also the Jews⁷ were allowed⁸ to secure⁹ a tetrarch czar from the nobles of Rome. During that time the most wise Livy (Luveos), the Roman historian, wrote much about Rome. Caesar, dictator and autocrat,¹⁰ with mighty power took everything and overcame all. At the same time a Roman scholar, Vergil,¹¹ wrote the story about Aeneas and Ulysses (Elisei) who had come from Phoenicia, and about the wooden horse and the capture of Troy. And soon the news became known of the advent of Caesar, dictator, autocrat, who had overcome all obstacles and had occupied Rome, killing all nobles, and becoming an autocrat. Some letters arrived in the city on the twelfth of Artemisios,¹² the month of May, of the present¹³ indiction.¹⁴ Having been read in Antioch,¹⁵ they (the letters) declared its freedom, for Antioch had been under the Romans. They had been sent by the same Caesar on the twelfth of that month Artemisios. These letters read as follows: "To the [g]reat and autonomous sovereign of the East, Gaius Caesar!" and so forth. This Czar dictator entered the great city of Antioch on the twenty-third of that month of Artemisios. This Caesar built in the great city of Antioch a palace¹⁶ which he called the

⁷ V adds, *who were disabled*.

⁸ V adds, *for themselves*.

⁹ V adds, *a voyevod*.

¹⁰ V adds, *Roman sovereign*.

¹¹ *Virgilios* in Ch, S; the Greek, "Bergillios," 216, 3.

¹² V adds, *which is*.

¹³ The Greek text has "the following," 216, 11.

¹⁴ *epinimisiyu*, Ch, S; the Greek, "epineméseos," 216, 12.

¹⁵ In the MS, *Zaktiochii*; the Greek, "in Antioch," 216, 10.

¹⁶ The Greek, (216, 19) "basilikê," "basilica" (literally "royal" [sc. stoa]), confused by the translator with "basileia," "palace;" cf. Downey, G., "The Architectural Significance of the Words *Stoa* and *Basilike* in Classical Literature," *Amer. Journal of Archaeology*, XLI (1937), 206.

Caesareum, directly opposite the altar of Ares, called Macellum (Makelos). He built also a copper statue of an augur of the Romans.¹⁷ On the Acropolis of the mountain near Antioch,¹⁸ he built a public bath for the citizens, to which the water was conducted through the Laodicean water conduits from the previously mentioned rivers. He also built on that hill a theatre, and restored the Pantheon in Antioch, which was about to fall, erecting also the altar. Caesar likewise went to Alexandria the Great, where he built after the name¹⁹ of the son he had had by Cleopatra, whom he loved better as being very beautiful. She was (exiled) to the Thebaid (Bephaida) by her brother Ptolemy,²⁰ who had become angry with her. Caesar seduced her and made her pregnant, and she bore him a son whom he named Caesarion. After the name of his son, Julius Caesar founded the Caesareum in Alexandria. Having driven out her brother, Ptolemy, from the kingdom of Egypt and having killed the two sons who had induced Ptolemy to expel Cleopatra to the Thebaid, he gave her the rule of Egypt. This son of Cleopatra by Caesar died in infancy. And afterwards the great Julius Caesar was suddenly killed by the guiles of Cassius, the second Brutus, and other nobles who had conspired with him, during the second consulship of Chrusavrik and Antony. Antioch the Great was designated the most honored the first year by (or from) this Caesar Gaius Julius.

¹⁷ The Greek, "setting up there a copper statue to the Tyche of Rome," 216, 20; the translator apparently misunderstood the reference to the Tyche, but instead he substituted *an augur*.

¹⁸ The Slavonic text is corrupted in this place; the correct reading is in Ch. 5, *in the Acropolis on the mountain in Antioch*.

¹⁹ To be understood as "honoring the name."

²⁰ V adds, *was expelled*; cf. the Greek, 217, 7.

II. (B. 218-221). Gaius Caesar having died, the Roman nobles elected Augustus Octavianus (Oktaun), a relative of Caesar, and Antony, son-in-law of Augustus' sister, and Leonidas; these three then were triumvirs. They set up Roman supremacy up to Phaia and appointed consuls for all the years. In the fifteenth year of the triumvirate of Augustus Octavianus, Egypt with Cleopatra revolted against Rome. She built in Alexandria the Great the Torg²¹ on the island Keus, directly opposite Alexandria itself, a distance of four stadia, and by dumping soil and stones into the sea made a passage-way for the people from the city to that island and the Torg.²² This fearful²³ feat of Cleopatra was accomplished by Dexiphanes of Knidos (Deksiophan Klidios), a scientist, who transformed the sea into land. When the Romans were informed about the secession of the Egyptians and of their Czarina Cleopatra, Antony left Rome and took up arms against their Czarina Cleopatra, Egypt, and the Persian country. Thus all the East was disturbed by wars. Then Antony descended upon Egypt with a great force of soldiers. Arriving before Alexandria the Great, he besieged the city and fighting, sent to Cleopatra that she surrender the [city].²⁴ He had seen her before, when he had come to Egypt with Julius Caesar. Cleopatra

²¹ *Phor*, S. *Phar*, Ch; the Greek, "Pharon," 218, 9; as the footnote indicates, this is the Pharos lighthouse; but the Slavonic translator uses the word *Torg*, i. e., "market" (the Greek "phoron"), although he may have thought of it as a proper noun, since he capitalized it. Needless to say that the name of the island is Pharos; it is difficult to account for the name *Keus*, unless it is connected in some way with Cape Lochias.

²² *Phara*, S, Ch; the Greek, "Pharou," 218, 13; the causeway was known as the *Heptastadium*.

²³ V, *spacious*; Greek, "phoberon," 218, 14; the Slavonic word is unintelligible; the translation follows the Greek text.

²⁴ *city* is supplied from the Greek, 219, 1.

answered him with guile, since she wanted him. Antony²⁵ was beguiled, and overcome by passion, desired her and yielded to her. Cleopatra was short, but altogether good and wise. Admitting Antony and his army into the city, she married him. Taking Cleopatra as his wife, Antony returned with her against the Romans, and with scorn renounced his wife, the sister of Augustus, and²⁶ Octavia. He gathered a great many followers, winning them by many gifts and promises;²⁷ he built many war vessels and (gathered) cavalry. He sailed from Alexandria, and moved against the Romans with Cleopatra, planning to conquer Rome, by embarking from Epirus to go up²⁸ to Rome. Having been informed in Rome about the return of Antony and Cleopatra, straightway Octavianus himself took up arms against them, in behalf of Rome as well as on account of the insult to his sister whom Antony had offended. And Augustus took a *strategos*, Agrippa by name, and married his sister, Octavia, to him. Then, together with *Strategos* Agrippa and with his military forces, he hastened from Rome. And arriving in the territory of Epirus,²⁹ at a place called Leucadia (Leukat), he encountered Antony and Cleopatra in a great battle, which is described by the very wise Vergil in his writings about the shield in the eighth book. A multitude of soldiers of both sides covered land and sea; so many soldiers of Antony and Cleopatra were slaughtered in the naval battle³⁰ that the waters of the sea, mixing with

²⁵ *Antony*, V; the Greek, "Antonios," 219, 4.

²⁶ The Slavonic text has a superfluous *and*, which destroys the sense of the sentence.

²⁷ V adds, *them great gifts that they might help him against Augustus*.

²⁸ In the MS, *to transport*; the Greek, "to return," 219, 15.

²⁹ *Ipir*; the Greek, "Epeiron," 219, 24.

³⁰ V, *ships*.

their blood, appeared as bloody waves. And Augustus defeated and killed Antony, captured Cleopatra, bound and humiliated her, and ordered her to be guarded in order to bring her to Rome as a captive for the purpose of causing her humiliation. But Cleopatra killing herself, died by letting an asp poison her. They carried asps and other snakes in cases on the ships for military.³¹ And while guarded by soldiers, she secretly died of an asp (bite) in order that she might not be taken alive to Rome. After her death, her body was taken to Rome, embalmed³² with myrrh, for exhibition to the sister of Augustus, as the very wise Theophilus the chronicler described. But those who have written the native³³ history and of Alexandria the Great, relate that Cleopatra was captured in Egypt and make other statements not in accordance with the Roman writers. After that victory³⁴ Augustus with Agrippa, his son-in-law, left Epirus. Augustus Caesar³⁵ went out with a multitude of his soldiers, conquering other countries and destroying their capitals. It was in the eighteenth year of his triumvirate. The Egyptian war lasted many years.

III. (B. 221-222). The same Augustus passed through all the European territories and crossed from Byzantium to Chalcedon, a city of Asia. In Bithynia he promptly appointed a prince from among his men, Lausus (Daus) by name, deposing Dinar, who had held that country, and who had been originally appointed by Caesar, his uncle. Formerly Bithynia had a prince. Be-

³¹ V adds, *needs*, or *sacrifices*.

³² V, *tied around*.

³³ i. e., local

³⁴ *After that victory*, Ch, S; the Greek, "After such a victory," 220, 21.

³⁵ *and* in Ch, S; the Greek, "and," 221, 3.

fore all these events, Pompey Magnus had taken Bithynia after the death of Nicodemus, its world-ruler,³⁶ who belonged to the Macedonian dynasty and who, dying, left it to the Romans. This Augustus also subjugated Galatia, defeating Deiotarus (Diatarus), its Tetrarch. Fortifying a village, named Arsine, he built a city which he named Ancyra. It is bordered on two sides by two seas, the Pontus sea.³⁷ He offered as a sacrifice a maiden, Gregoria, for its purification, and after establishing it as an eparchy, he brought Gaul soldiers to guard that territory and the city. He named the eparchy of that country and the river after their name, Gauls (Gollos). He found the eparchy of Lydia and Pamphilia held by Deiotarus. He sent there his *strategos*, Kurion, with many forces, who conquered and subjected them to the Roman rule. He also dispatched Pokatian, his *strategos*, with his army into Phrygia Pokatania, which also had been an eparchy, and forced its submission to the Romans. And Lycaonia (Lukania), formerly held by Lycaon (Lukaon), the son of Kapuos, who had joined Augustus, was likewise subjected to the Romans. Augustus granted him his former rule, and took him along to Egypt. Syria and Cilicia have been under the Romans since (the time of) Julius Caesar.

IV. (B. 222-224). Arriving in Syria, Augustus entered Antioch the Great, and announced his victory over Antony, the tyrant, and Cleopatra, with Agrippa, his son-in-law.³⁸ Agrippa became enamored of the location

³⁶ *toparch* in Ch, S; the Greek, "who ruled as toparch," 221, 14.

³⁷ In V is added: *namely, the Black and from the other side the White, which is called the great sea.*

³⁸ The word-order is ambiguous both in the Slavonic and the Greek texts (222, 13), for it is not clear from the statement as it is given

of Antioch and built a bath outside the city, at the foot of the mountain. He found there a spring, to which he gave his name, the Agrippia. In the theatre of Antioch he built and added another tier (of seats) above the first one; and other works for the people and Agrippa.³⁹ Upon leaving (the place), Augustus came to Aladia,⁴⁰ a city of Syria. He erected in that city an immense theatre, and built a marble⁴¹ statue. He also constructed a great canopy, on four columns, to replace the former⁴² small⁴³ building; he beautified the columns, facing them again with marble and depicting on them his victory. He placed above the four gates a copper statue with four horses. He also subjugated the Phoenician territory, having sent there a *strategos*, with the help of Lucullus (Lukal) and Pontius (Ponton), who defeated Tigranes, who had held it, and made it an eparchy. He also subjected to himself, that is, to the Romans, the so-called Maravia,⁴⁴ which had been held by Irava,⁴⁵ the Czar of the barbarian Saracens. He fortified a village, which he named Bostra after the name of Bostra, the *strategos* sent by him. And other eparchies he conquered, with the exception of Cappadocia, which was held by Archelaus, and of the tetrarchy of Herod (Irod) of the Judaeen country, because they both had brought him great gifts. Herod, the Czar of the

in both texts whether Augustus arrived with Agrippa in Antioch, or gained the victory over Antony with him. Actually, of course, both texts go on to say that Agrippa did visit Antioch.

³⁹ The Slavonic translator made "Agrippa" the object, instead of the subject of the sentence, as the Greek text has it, 222, 22.

⁴⁰ *Laodiyu*, S. *Laodikiyu*, Ch; the Greek, "Laodikeôn polin," 222, 23.

⁴¹ In the MS, *marble sea*.

⁴² *existing*, S; the Greek, "which was," 223, 3.

⁴³ V adds, *existing*.

⁴⁴ So also Ch, S; the Greek, "Arabian," 223, 10.

⁴⁵ *Arava*, Ch, S; the Greek, "Araba," 223, 11.

Jews, in his honor, paved the road outside the city of Antioch the Great, because it was in a bad condition. It was paved with white stones sent by him. He ordered both these toparchs to call their metropolis in his honor after the name of Caesar. Accordingly, Herod the Czar, Toparch, changed the name of Mazaca into Caesarea of Cappadocia.⁴⁶ Caesar Augustus, who had granted him a life-long tenure of the tetrarchy, was his uncle. And leaving Palestine, he took Egypt. And having conquered⁴⁷ it, he entered Alexandria the Great and proclaiming there his victory, he subjected Egypt to Rome. He appointed the first prince from among his men, Cornelius Gallus by name, to rule the Egyptians in Alexandria, giving him the order of *augustalis* as a symbol of his name. And crossing the sea, Augustus entered Rome, lifted in glory as having conquered all Rome.⁴⁸ After tormenting the nobles, he reigned alone in magnificence, having put Brutus to death, for he had killed Caesar, his uncle. He allowed Brutus to guard Thessaly (Phasalia), then sent soldiers to kill him during the consulship of Kovlasius and Palionus, as the most wise Lucan, the Roman scholar, related.

V. (B. 224-225). At this time, a certain Sosibios (Savi),⁴⁹ a noble of Antioch, having come with Augustus to Rome, died in Rome; he ordained that in his memory his city celebrate every fifth year, for thirty days throughout the month Iperetia, performances with clowns, marion-

⁴⁶ In the Greek text, this statement refers to Archelaus, not to Herod, 224, 3.

⁴⁷ The Slavonic word is corrupt: the two words, *conquered it*, are run together.

⁴⁸ Should read, *the world*; the Greek, "kosmon," 224, 16.

⁴⁹ *Sovi* in Ch, S; the Greek, "Sosibios," 224, 22.

ettes,⁵⁰ and all manner of wrestling, and foot races. Agrippa, the son-in-law of Augustus, came to Antioch on his second visit. He scattered⁵¹ the soil from the old theatre, which had been piled up on account of the wooden⁵² fear. And seeing the skill of the great work, he was amazed, and departed from Syria. Quintus Marcianus (Kintos Markian), the Rex of the Romans, had built a hippodrome in an old palace at his own (expense) when he had come from Rome to Antioch of Syria to Philip the Fat-legged, the Macedonian, who reigned in Antioch, to fix the tribute to be paid by him to the Romans.⁵³

VI. (B. 225-226). This celebrated Augustus was the first czar to rule the Romans alone. He was called Augustus Caesar Octavianus, Victor, honorable ruling Felix, Imperator, that is, autocrat. Augustus reigned altogether fifty-two years. He was of low stature, thin, with black long hair, thin face, good eyes and good nose. During his reign he built an altar to Zeus in Rome, having renovated the Capitolium, making both edifices majestic. In the thirty-ninth year and the tenth month of his reign he commanded the taking of a census of all his lands, including all that the Romans had held during

⁵⁰ dolls in V, Ch, S.

⁵¹ The translator misunderstood the Greek text; he should have used the word "removed," or some such expression.

⁵² ancient in Ch; the Greek, "former," 225, 5.

⁵³ The passage beginning *He scattered the soil* is not clear, owing to the Slavonic translator's misunderstanding of the Greek text (225, 4-9). The Slavonic word translated "to fix" is *ustaviti* (*histanai, sistere*), = to fix, to establish; or *tithenai, ponere* = to set. The noun *ustav* means "a rule," in modern Slavic languages, "a constitution." On the meaning of the original, see Downey, G., "Q. Marcius Rex at Antioch," *Class. Philol.*, XXXII (1937), 144-51. Possibly some or all of the misunderstanding on the part of the Slavonic translator is to be ascribed to the peculiar use of "old" in the original.

the consulship of Agrippa⁵⁴ and second,⁵⁵ and of Donatus. Everything was registered that was held by the Romans and Eumenes and Attalus (Autol), Roman nobles.⁵⁶ He was feared greatly. He was very cruel. During the fortieth year and the sixth month of his reign, in the month of Dystros, after the Annunciation, at the twenty-fifth hour, second day of the week, Archangel Gabriel made the announcement to Saint Mary, in the city of Nazareth, during the consulship of Quinius (Kuini) and Longinus, the senior ruler of Syria being Vitellius (Utalius), who had recently been sent there by Augustus Caesar.

⁵⁴ V has, *to Agrippa the second, subordinated to him, his son-in-law, who married the wife of Antony, his son-in-law, by the name of Leonida, and Donatus.*

⁵⁵ The Greek text makes it clear that *the second* modifies *consulship*, not *Agrippa* (226, 4). The Slavonic text is not clear at this point.

⁵⁶ The Slavonic translator evidently misunderstood the Greek, which says (226, 4), "And all the earth (which was) under the Romans was registered by Eumenes and Attalus, Roman senators."

APPENDIX TO BOOKS VIII AND IX

In the above-mentioned chronographic compilation of the Sophia Library, No. 1459, Books VIII and IX of the *Chronicle* of Malalas were preserved in the following form. The text not preserved in the Archive codex is enclosed in square brackets.

[In the fourth year of the reign of Darius, God caused Alexander of Macedon to rise up against Assyria, and the Persians, and against the Parthians, and the Medians. He was the toparch who after sacrificing a maiden had built Alexandria, which had formerly been the village of Rakustin.] (Bonn 191, 1-7).

Alexander, who died at fifty-seven, ordered that after his end Ptolemy, surnamed Lagos, an astronomer, should reign; he reigned for forty-two years. After him reigned his son, Ptolemy. During the reign of that Ptolemy, the Jewish books were translated into the Greek language by seventy-two teachers in seventy-two days. After the reign of that Ptolemy, the third Ptolemy, Philadelphus, reigned for thirty-seven years. After him the fourth, Euergetes (Eurigitis), for twenty-five years; thereafter the fifth, Philopator, for seventeen years; and after him the sixth, Epiphanes, for twenty-five years; and then the seventh, Philometor (Philomir), for eleven years. And five other Ptolemies reigned for 107 years. The twelfth Ptolemy, named Dionysus, reigned for twenty-nine years. He had a daughter, Cleopatra, and a son, Ptolemy. From Ptolemy of Lagos to Cleopatra, twenty

Macedonian Ptolemies reigned in the Egyptian country for three hundred years, up to the fifteenth year of Caesar Augustus Octavianus Sebastos, who defeated Antony and Cleopatra, as the most wise Eusebius Pamphili and Pausanias, the chronicler, related. He ordered Seleucus Nicator, who reigned in Asia, having killed Antigonus, to hold and reign over Syria, Babylonia, and Palestine.

He reigned for forty-three years.

He built Antioch after the name of his son, Antiochus.

He ordered that the Syrian names of months be designated in the Macedonian.

He built also a second city after the name of his daughter, Laodice, and another he built after the name of his second daughter, Apama. He likewise built other cities in various places to the number of seventy-five, as the most wise Pausanias related.

This Seleucus was the first one to invent the art of wrestling.

Seleucus died, and for the next twenty years his son, Antiochus, reigned. He fell in love with his step-mother, the daughter of Demetrius, and took her as his wife. She bore him two sons: Seleucus, who died in infancy, and Antiochus, surnamed Theoeides (Deondis), who reigned for fifteen years, after his father. After him Seleucus, his son by Berenice (Bernikia), reigned for twenty-four¹ years; and Alexander Nicator for four years; and Antiochus Grypus for thirty-six years; and Seleucus Philopator for ten years; and Antiochus, surnamed Epiphanestatos (Epiphanitatos), for twelve years. He fought with Ptolemy of Egypt. Many of his soldiers

¹ In the Slavonic text, the two letters representing the number are inverted.

fell, but he himself escaped. Being informed of it and supposing that Antiochus had been killed, the Jerusalemites rejoiced and made a festival. It so happened that it was not as they had supposed. Antiochus, gathering many soldiers, again hastened against Ptolemy and killed him. Then he turned against Jerusalem and captured it.

It was the second capture of Jerusalem, as the most wise Eusebius Pamphili related.

For two years after him reigned Antiochus *sekry* (Glaucus), his son, surnamed Hierax, and after that Demetrianus of Seleucus for fifty years. During his reign, a certain Judah, a Jew [again built Jerusalem and purged the temple, celebrating a passover to God].

After Demetrianus reigned Antiochus, the grandson of Grypus, the son of Laodice, the daughter of Ariarathes (Arianth), the Czar of Cappadocia, for nine years. During his reign Antioch the Great fell and was restored after 152 years, as it was described by Domnus, the chronicler, and also by Pausanias.

After this Antiochus, three other czars of this dynasty reigned, up to the reign of Antiochus Dionysus (Dionik), the leper, the father of Cleopatra and Antiochis.

Antiochus the leper fought with the Romans. There was in Rome a certain Scipio, who had been appointed consul and who defeated Antiochus.

He subjected him to the Romans, as the most wise Florus recollected from Livy's very wise books. In the fifteenth year of his reign came Tigranes, the Armenian Czar, who fought with Antiochus, and defeating him, took their kingdom and Antioch the Great. Czar Antiochus fled into the Persian country of that Tigranes. When Pompey Magnus came, having been sent on Caesar's

business, he fought with Tigranes, defeated him, and occupied Armenia, Cilicia, and Syria.

Antiochus, hearing of the death of Czar Tigranes and of Pompey's victory, came and fell before him, beseeching him for his kingdom. Pompey restored the kingdom to him. [He himself went to Egypt.] At that time there lived wise scholars, Cicero and Sallust. Czar Antiochus dying, left his possessions to the Romans. After his death, Antioch the Great was under the Romans, as well as all Syria and Cilicia and all that had been held by the Macedonians. The Macedonians reigned in Antioch the Great and other territories for two hundred and sixty-three years, from Seleucus Nicator to the Roman annexation.

[Thus, all Roman power had been built by the consuls for four hundred and sixty-five years, to the Czar Dictator who was not born. For upon his mother, who died during the ninth month, was performed an operation and the baby was extracted—for that reason he was named Caesar. For Caesar is the Latin for extraction. Becoming of age, and being virile, he was appointed as triumvir together with Pompey Magnus and Crassus. These three then ruled all Roman territories.] (B. 214, 1-8).

It was he who killed Pompey Magnus and Crassus, as Lucan (Luknios) related.

At that time lived the most wise Livy, a Roman writer, who wrote much about Rome. Dictator Caesar seized everything with haughtiness [eighteen years.² He originated the indictions and the leap year, and established

² This sentence is obviously incomplete. It may mean that Caesar conquered all within eighteen years.

laws for the Romans, and appointed consuls for such time as he wished.] (B. 215, 19-216, 2).

At that time Vergil, a Roman scholar, wrote a story about Aeneas and Ulysses, who had come from Phoenicia (Thinikia), and about the wooden horse, and the capture of Troy.

This Caesar built a city after the name of his son, borne by Cleopatra who had been driven out by her brother, Ptolemy, to (*sic*) Alexandria the Great. Julius went there, found her beautiful, seduced her, making her pregnant. She bore a son whom he called Caesarion. He (Julius) expelled Ptolemy from Egypt and gave the rule to Cleopatra. Their son died in infancy. He himself was killed by the second Brutus.

After the death of Caesar Gaius Julius, Roman nobles chose Augustus Octavianus, a relative of Caesar, with Antony and Leonidas, and these three administered the Roman government.

When Egypt and Cleopatra revolted from Rome, Antony went out against it with a numerous army.

Having been charmed by Cleopatra, he abandoned his wife, the sister of Augustus, and took Cleopatra as wife.

Hearing this, Augustus gathered many soldiers and went against him and killed him. He seized Cleopatra alive as a captive, but she killed herself with an asp, as Theophilus, the most wise chronicler, related.

He also built a city which was named Ancyra.

He conquered many eparchies, with the exception of Cappadocia, which was ruled by Archelaus, and the tetrarchy of Herod, the Jewish Czar, because they had brought him great gifts.

Returning to Rome, he killed Brutus, who had killed Czar Julius, as the most wise Lucan, the Roman scholar, related. At that time a certain Sosibios (Sovi), a noble of Antioch, came to Rome with Augustus and died in Rome, ordering that in his memory there be celebrated for five years, during thirty days of the month of Peretios (Peretia), performances of clowns, of marionettes, and all manner of wrestling, horse races, and foot races.

This celebrated Augustus was the first to rule the Romans alone. He was called honorable and ruling Felix, that is, autocrat, and he reigned for fifty-two years.

During the fortieth year and the sixth month of his reign, in the month of Dystros, at the twenty-fifth hour on the second day of the week, Archangel Gabriel made the announcement to Saint Mary.

BOOK TENTH¹

I. (B. 227-229). In the forty-second² year and the fourth month of the reign of Augustus, our Lord Jesus Christ was born, eight³ (days) before the calends of January, in the month of Apellaios (Apaleya), which is December, on the twenty-fifth, at the seventh hour of the day, in a city of Judaea, Bethlehem by name, near Jerusalem; it was the forty-second year according to the Antiochenes, while Quirinius (Cyrenius) Consul was *voevod* of Syria, during the consulship of Octavianus and Silvanus (Silianus), while the Toparch, that is Czar, of Judaea was Herod the Great. There elapsed from Adam until Peleg (Phalek), the son of Eber, to the forty-second year of the reign of Augustus Caesar, two thousand and sixty-seven years; from Adam the first-created to the bodily birth of our Lord Jesus Christ, and the forty-second year of the same Augustus Caesar, five thousand nine hundred and sixty-seven years. Our Lord remained on earth with men thirty-three years. Accordingly, from Adam the first-created until the bodily birth of our Lord Jesus Christ and the crucifixion and the ascension there are fully six thousand years. Peleg, [according to]⁴ the voice of the Prophet Moses,⁵ marks one

¹ Book X is edited in accordance with the Archive codex; the first chapter is omitted in Ch.

² That is, 1 B. C.; this is, of course, irreconcilable with the statement that the birth occurred during the reign of Herod the Great, who died in 4 B. C.

³ Omitted in S.

⁴ Taken from S; cf. the Greek, 228, 9.

⁵ The MS adds unnecessarily *the voice*.

half of the time of the advent of the Lord, for man was created in six days, and Moses the Great said in his writing that for the Lord one day is as a thousand years. On the sixth day God created man, and man fell into sin. Accordingly, it is clear that in the sixth day of thousands he will appear on earth and save man by his crucifixion and resurrection. Thus also write the chroniclers Clement (Klinis), Theophilus, and Timothy, agreeing among themselves. Eusebius Pamphili also asserts the appearance of the Savior Christ in the sixth millenium in accordance with the six days of Adam's creation. He said that before the ending of the sixth year, our Lord and God, Christ, appeared on earth in order to redeem the human race. He was born and became man, he said, in the five hundredth and second year, and suffered (death), rose from the dead and ascended into heaven in the five thousandth three hundredth and fifth year. They all agree in affirming that the Lord⁶ appeared in the year 6000, whether more or less. Nevertheless, he appeared in the year 6000 according to the prophetic voice, even if they do not agree in regard to the laying down of the number of years; he shall appear in the last years (according to the divine books.)⁷

II. (B. 229-232). In the reign of the same pious Augustus Octavianus Caesar, a city of Palestine, Salamine⁸ by name, fell by the wrath of God. Augustus⁹ re-

⁶ *Savior*, S.

⁷ Taken from S; cf. the Greek, 229, 11.

⁸ *Palamanie*, Ch; no place of this name in Palestine is attested by other writers, and it has been suggested that the reference should be to Salaminias in Syria or to Samaria in Palestine. Cf. A. Schenk von Stauffenberg, *Die römische Kaisergeschichte bei Malalas* (Stuttgart, 1931), 179, n. 108.

⁹ Added, *czar and*, Ch.

built the town and named it the city of Zeus. Herod, the Toparch, that is, the Czar of Judaea, was informed in that year that ¹⁰ magicians from Persia had arrived and had entered¹¹ the Judaeian country¹⁰ (and ordered them seized).¹² The magicians came from Persia, having been instructed by an announcement which they had received, for a star had appeared to them, which had announced to them that in the East Christ the Savior had become god-man. They brought him gifts as to a great victorious czar. Having come to Jerusalem, they inquired: "Where is the newborn Jewish czar?" (And)¹³ the Jews became excited. The magicians having been sighted,¹⁴ and¹⁴ having been seized, (and)¹⁵ were taken to the czar. He inquired of them, saying:¹⁶ "Why have you come to the Judaeian country, what do you seek?" The magicians confessed to him about the starry¹⁷ miracle, "that a great czar is born to the world, and we came¹⁸ (bringing)¹⁹ him gifts as to a great czar and God. For we have seen his star in the East." Herod heard them and being astonished, thought to himself, saying: how strong will the newborn czar be after (the death) of Augustus Caesar? [For the magicians came to Jerusalem during the consulship of Vindicius (Indikeus) and Varius (Avurius). Having inquired of them concerning the time of the star, he said to the magicians: "If you return,²⁰ come and tell me, so

¹⁰ Omitted in Ch.

¹¹ Added, in the *Persian land*, S.

¹² Taken from S; cf. the Greek, 229, 19.

¹³ Taken from S; cf. the Greek, 230, 3.

¹⁴ Taken from S; the Greek, "recognized," 230, 4.

¹⁵ Taken from S; cf. the Greek, 230, 4.

¹⁶ and the czar said to them, Ch; S 1520 = A.

¹⁷ Added, *course and*, Ch.

¹⁸ Taken from V; cf. the Greek, 230, 8.

¹⁹ we brought, Ch, S.

²⁰ The Slavonic word is probably a corruption for "find him."

that I also might go and bow before him.”]²¹ The magicians having left, were led by the star which they had seen in the East. They found Jesus and his mother in the city of Bethlehem. And falling²² to the ground, they bowed before Christ the Savior. They spoke among themselves, (saying) “that the star had shown us a greater god than itself, which we worship as a god.” And bringing gifts to him as to God, gold,²³—frankincense, and myrrh,—²³ and²⁴ having seen²⁴ in a dream²⁴ ²⁵—that they should not return to Herod,—²⁵ they returned by another route to the Persian country, disobeying Herod. As having been insulted by the magicians, Herod [became angry, and having inquired of the Jewish high priests where Christ should be born, they taught him.²⁶ And dispatching soldiers, he killed²⁷ all²⁸ infants²⁸ in Bethlehem, the city of Judaea (as the divine books relate. And Herod immediately fell into an incurable illness, and having been eaten by worms, gave up the soul). And Archelaus, his son, became czar, that is, tetrarch, of the Jewish people, for nine years, during the consulship of Lamia (Alamia) and Servilianus (Seruilianus), as Clement (Klimis) the chronicler²⁹ has written.]³⁰ [Au-

²¹ The passage in the square brackets is taken from Ch, S; the phrase *during the consulship of Vindicius and Varius* is found only in S; in the Greek, 230, 13-17.

²² *having found and*, S.

²³ Omitted in S, Ch, and the Greek, 230, 23.

²⁴ *and receiving a reply from an angel in a dream*, Ch.

²⁵ Omitted in S, and the Greek, 231, 1.

²⁶ The word *navyknu*, found in the text, is corrupt; the translation attempts a free rendering.

²⁷ *cut down*, S.

²⁸ *children*, S.

²⁹ The word in the text is corrupt.

³⁰ The addition within the square brackets is taken from Ch, S; the Greek, 231, 4-11; the section included in parentheses () is found only in S.

gustus]³¹ Caesar Octavianus in the fifty-fifth year of his reign, in the month of October, which is Hyperberetaios, went to a temple and having offered a sacrifice of a hecatomb,³² he inquired: "Who shall reign after me in the city of Rome?" But no answer was vouchsafed him by the Pythia (Puphia). He offered another need³³ and inquired of the Pythia why no answer had been vouchsafed him, and why the magic³⁴ had been silent. And the Pythia answered him as follows: "A Jewish boy, who rules the blessed gods, commands me to leave this house, and to depart to Hades. Therefore, ye³⁵ shall leave your houses."³⁶ And Augustus Caesar left the temple and went to the Capitolium.³⁷ He built there a great and high altar, upon which he wrote in Roman letters: "This altar is (dedicated) to the great-grandfather of God."³⁸ This altar is in the Capitolium to this day, as Timothy wrote. Octavianus Caesar fell into illness³⁹ and died in Rome, being seventy-five years old, childless,⁴⁰ and⁴⁰ free from carnal sin. For the czar was a mystagogue high priest.

III. (B. 232-237). After ⁴¹—the reign of Augustus Octavianus Caesar—⁴¹ who had reigned ⁴²—fifty-seven

³¹ Taken from Ch, S; the Greek, "Augoustos," 231, 12; this passage is discussed by W. Weber, «Παῖς Ἐβραῖος» in "Studien zur Chronik des Malalas," *Festgabe für A. Deissmann* (Tübingen, 1927), 31-36.

³² A variant, S; *festive*, Ch.

³³ *sacrifice*, Ch, S; Greek, "thysian," 231, 17.

³⁴ In this form in Ch, S; the Greek, "to manteion," 231, 18; in the MS, a variant.

³⁵ The text may be equally well rendered *he*.

³⁶ *their*, Ch; the Greek, "our," 232, 1.

³⁷ *Kapetolion*, S; cf. the Greek, 232, 5.

³⁸ The Slavonic translator evidently misunderstood the *first-born of God*; the Greek, 232, 4.

³⁹ *into evil* (illness), Ch, S.

⁴⁰ Omitted in Ch.

⁴¹ *after Augustus*, Ch.

⁴² Omitted in Ch, S, and in Greek, 232, 10.

years, six months, and two days,—⁴² reigned⁴³ Octavianus' (Uliin's) son,⁴⁴ Tiberius, twenty-two and a half years, during the consulship⁴⁵ of Sextus. He was of middle stature, old, slim, of good eyes, dark, with short, curly hair,⁴⁶ benevolent, and industrious. He went⁴⁷ with the army against the Persians and the Medes, but did not fight them, for he had been implored by them and imposed a peace tribute to be taken.⁴⁸ And Antiochus⁴⁹ built⁴⁹ much, for the citizens a bath near the spring of Olympias, which had been built by Alexander the Macedonian in the name of his mother. For Alexander drank water there when he came there and said: "I drank my mother's milk." He set up⁵⁰ two great copper statues outside the temple, in honor of the Dioscuri, Amphion and Zethos, for they had been born in Antioch.⁵¹ The river of the city, formerly known as Dracont, he called Orontes (Orent), which means "Eastern" in the Roman language. He also built in Judaea a city in⁵² the lake which he called Tiberias. In the fifteenth year of that⁵³ Tiberius,⁵³ during the consulship of Silvanus, John the Precursor began to preach the baptism of repentance,⁵⁴ baptizing in accord-

⁴² A variant, S; omitted in Ch.

⁴⁴ in Rome, Ch; Caesar, S; the Greek, "Kaisar," 232, 11.

⁴⁵ in the consulship, V; the word in the text, *vovapiyu*, is a corruption of *v upatiyu* (in the consulship).

⁴⁶ humble, V; the word in the text is unintelligible.

⁴⁷ went, V, Ch, S; in the Greek, "he campaigned," 232, 13; the word used in the text is the infinitive form, to go.

⁴⁸ Added from them, Ch, S.

⁴⁹ he built in Antioch, V, Ch, S; cf. the Greek, 234, 10-11; the text is obviously corrupt; the footnote reading should be substituted.

⁵⁰ there added in Ch, S.

⁵¹ They were the sons of Antiope.

⁵² Obviously a mistake for "by."

⁵³ the reign of Tiberius, Ch; his reign, S; the Greek, "his reign," 236, 3.

⁵⁴ and added, S, Ch.

ance with the prophetic⁵⁵ voice,⁵⁶ and the whole Judæan country came to him. And from this the beginning⁵⁷ was made of the saving preaching. Our Lord Jesus Christ was baptized by John the Precursor, being ⁵⁸—thirty years of age and performing miracles. He was baptized—⁵⁸ in the river Jordan in the month of Audynaïos,⁵⁹ which is January, on the sixth⁶⁰ day and at the tenth⁶¹ hour of the night, during the consulship of Rufus and Rubellion. From that time John the Baptist was known to men. [And Herod the Czar, who was Toparch, beheaded him]⁶² in [the city of Sebaste in the territory of Trachonitis⁶³ eight days before the calends of July during the consulship of Flaccus and Rufinus]⁶⁴ [on account of Herodias, the wife of Philip, his brother. For John had said to him: "It is not proper for you to have her"; and so on, as is written in the divine books.]⁶⁵

III. (B. 237-240). The same Czar Herod, second after Philip, sorrowing on John's account, left the city

⁵⁵ according to the prophecy, S, Ch; the Greek, "according to the prophetic voice," 236, 5.

⁵⁶ In A, V, the following phrase appears: *whom Josephus called wild* (V adds *man*) *according to the word of the stubborn* (V—*hard-hearted*) *Jews*; this phrase is omitted in S, Ch, and in Greek, 236, 5.

⁵⁷ *was begun*, Ch, S; Greek, "beginning," 236, 6; the phrase in the text is a meaningless corruption, possibly arising out of a division of the word *nachatok* (beginning) into two words.

⁵⁸ Omitted in Ch.

⁵⁹ *January*, Ch.

⁶⁰ *on the seventh*, Ch.

⁶¹ *indiction of the hand*, Ch.

⁶² Taken from S; cf. the Greek, 236, 13.

⁶³ In A and V, a phrase *during the rule of this Herod* is interpolated; omitted in the Greek, 236, 15.

⁶⁴ The phrase enclosed in square brackets, omitted in Ch.

⁶⁵ Taken from S; the Greek, 236, 16-18.

of Sebaste for Paneas (Paneados), a city of Judaea.⁶⁶ And a⁶⁷ rich woman came to him, desiring to set up an image of Christ, having been healed by him. But not daring to do [so]⁶⁸ without the Czar's permission, she told⁶⁹ it⁷⁰ to the same Herod, begging that she set up a copper image of the Savior Jesus Christ in that city. Her⁷¹ prayer was written as follows: "To the honored Herod, the world-ruler⁷² and the law-giver of the Jews and the Greeks of the territory of Trachonitis, a petition and prayer from the noblewoman Veronica (Vernikiya) of the city of Paneas. The truth⁷³ of philanthropy⁷³ [other beneficence]⁷⁴ guard your sacred head. Therefore, I am confident with good hopes to obtain that for which I petition. What is the sense of the present petition, is expressed by the previous⁷⁵ word.⁷⁶ Having fallen⁷⁷ since childhood into the suffering of blood issue, I have spent all my property and wealth, but have not

⁶⁶ On this passage see W. Weber, "Eine Gruppe in Paneas," in "Studien zur Chronik des Malalas," *Festgabe für A. Deissmann*, 37-40.

⁶⁷ *certain* added in Ch, S; Greek, "certain," 237, 3.

⁶⁸ Taken from V, Ch, S; Greek, "this," 237, 6.

⁶⁹ *gave*, Ch, S.

⁷⁰ *about it to Herod*, Ch.

⁷¹ *whose*, Ch, S; the Greek, "which," 237, 8.

⁷² *the toparch*, S, Ch; the Greek, "toparchê," 237, 9; the Slavonic translator or transcriber confused the two words, because of their similarity.

⁷³ *truth and philanthropy*, S, Ch; the Greek, "dikaiosynê kai philanthropia," 237, 11.

⁷⁴ taken from S, Ch; the Greek, "and the rest of all the virtues," 237, 12.

⁷⁵ *former*, S; *past*, Ch; the Greek (237, 15) has "parontos," "present" (eimi=sum) which the translator evidently mistook for "parontos," "past" (eimi=ibo).

⁷⁶ *word*, S, Ch; the Greek, "logos," 237, 15.

⁷⁷ *having come*, Ch.

found⁷⁸ healing. Having heard of the miraculous healing of Christ, how⁷⁹ he restored⁸⁰ the dead and brought them to light⁸¹ again, and drove demons out of men, and healed those who were all rotting with wounds,⁸² to him as to God I hastened. And approaching him when he stood among the people, I was afraid to confess to him my chronic disease, lest perchance he might be repelled by my filthy disorder, and might be angry with me, and the pain of the disease might be increased. I thought to myself that if I could but touch the hem of his robe, I should be healed. And pushing secretly through the crowd, I stole the healing, having touched the hem of his robe. And the flow of blood stopped, and thenceforth I have been well. But⁸³ he, as if reading the thoughts of my heart, inquired: 'Who touched me? For power has gone from me.' And I astounded and groaning,⁸⁴ thinking⁸⁵ that a worse⁸⁶ disease would befall me, fell before him, my tears filling the earth, and confessed my daring.⁸⁷ He, like God, observing the signs of healing, said: 'Hope, daughter, your faith has saved you. Go into⁸⁸ the world.'⁸⁸ Likewise you, your honor, grant this urgent prayer." Czar Herod, hearing this prayer⁸⁹ of hers,

⁷⁸ V adds, *by physicians*; should be, as in the Greek, "eis iatrous," 237, 16.

⁷⁹ *who*, S, Ch; the Greek, "who," 238, 1.

⁸⁰ A variant, S; *revived*, Ch; the Greek, "raises," 238, 2.

⁸¹ Or, *the world*; the Slavonic word is the same for both.

⁸² Or, *diseases*.

⁸³ S, Ch, added *again*; the Greek, "mallon," 238, 13.

⁸⁴ *trembling*, Ch.

⁸⁵ Omitted in S, Ch.

⁸⁶ *better*, S, Ch; the two Slavonic words are similar.

⁸⁷ *with daring*, Ch.

⁸⁸ *with peace*, S, Ch; the text confounds the phrase *s mirom* (with peace) with *v mir* (into the world).

⁸⁹ S adds *on account of*; the Greek, "dia," 239, 3.

marveled at the marvels. And fearing the mysterious⁹⁰ healing, [he said to her: "The (healing)⁹¹ of you, O woman, is more important than your petition for the statue. Go then and set up an image for him as you wish, praising⁹² with love him who had healed you."]⁹³ And straightway she set up in the midst of her city an image to the Lord our God Jesus Christ, (made) of copper mixed with a certain portion of gold and silver. That image stands to this day in the city of Paneas, having been carried many years ago in⁹⁴ the place where it had stood in the midst of the town to a holy church. Its history is to be found written by a certain Bassus, a former Jew become a Christian, in that city of Paneas, who recorded the lives of all those who had reigned⁹⁵ in the territory of Judaea.⁹⁶ And⁹⁷ this Czar Herod Antipas,⁹⁸ by reason of much suffering fell into a disease for over eight months, this⁹⁹ killed in his palace after eight months, with his wife's knowledge, as Clement wrote.

IV. (B. 240-243). In the eighteenth year of the reign of this Tiberius Caesar, in the seventh month, when Jesus Christ our God was thirty-three years (old), he

⁹⁰ A variant in S; *secret, heavenly*, in Ch.

⁹¹ S, Ch, add *healing*; the Greek, "healing," 239, 5; the word *healing* is omitted in the text; I followed the footnote reading for the sake of intelligibility.

⁹² *glorifying*, S, Ch.

⁹³ The lines within the square brackets are taken from V, S, Ch; the Greek, 239, 5-7

⁹⁴ *from* S; the Greek, "whence," 239, 13.

⁹⁵ Omitted in S, Ch.

⁹⁶ Ch adds, *as Clement has written*.

⁹⁷ From this point to the sentence, *Cassius ruled in Syria at the time, having been appointed the same Tiberius the czar*, omitted in Ch.

⁹⁸ *of Philip*, S; Greek, "(son) of Philip," 239, 18.

⁹⁹ *was*, S.

was betrayed by Judas Iscariot, his disciple—this Lord the Savior—in the month of Dystros, which is March, on the twenty-third, the moon having twenty days¹⁰⁰ day,¹⁰⁰ at the fifth hour of the night. He had been led to Caiaphas, the high priest, and hence in the morning¹⁰¹ he was turned over to Pilate of Pontus, the *voevod*. And straightway his¹⁰² wife, Procla,¹⁰² sent¹⁰² to him, saying: "Have nothing to do with this righteous man. For I have suffered much on his account today in a dream." Having learned of it, the Jews rioted, saying: "Take, take, crucify!"¹⁰³ Our Lord Jesus Christ was crucified eight (days) before the calends of April, the month of Dystros, which is March, the twenty-fourth, the moon having fourteen days, on Friday, at the sixth hour of the day. And the sun was beclouded and there was darkness over all the world from the sixth till the ninth hour. The most wise Phlegon (Pheloglon),¹⁰⁴ the Athenian, a Greek, has written regarding this darkness in his work as follows: "in the eighteenth year of the reign of Tiberius Caesar there occurred a great beclouding of the sun, greater than ever before. The hour became night so that even the stars appeared." Jesus Christ gave up the spirit on Friday at the ninth hour of the day. Straightway there was seen¹⁰⁵ all over the world a great earthquake and graves were

¹⁰⁰ *thirteen; on the fifth day*, S; the Greek, "thirteenth day; it was the fifth day (i. e. Thursday)," 240, 8.

¹⁰¹ Omitted in S and in the Greek, 240, 9.

¹⁰² *sent him proverbs*, S; this change of the text may be explained by the similarity of the name *Procla* to the word *proreka* (proverbs).

¹⁰³ The following addition appears in A and V (it is not Malalas'): *they had given Pilate before this thirty talents and he gave them Jesus (so that he would surrender Jesus to them, V); they crucified him contrary to their ancestral law, having greatly reviled him.*

¹⁰⁴ *Phlegon*, S; the Greek, "Phlegon," 240, 18.

¹⁰⁵ Thus in V, S; omitted in the Greek, 241, 2.

opened¹⁰⁶ and stones were burst asunder and the dead arose, as it all is truly described in the divine [books,]¹⁰⁷ as it was spoken to the Jews: "Of a truth this was the son of God whom we have crucified." The Lord Jesus was laid¹⁰⁸ in¹⁰⁹ the grave¹⁰⁹ at the tenth hour of that Friday, [in] the consulship of Sulpicius (Sulpius) and Sylla (Solat), in the seventy-ninth year of the (era) of Antioch the Great. Cassius ruled in Syria at the time, having been appointed that¹¹⁰ Tiberius the Czar.¹¹¹ Our Lord God Jesus Christ rose from the dead in the month of Dystros, which is March (Marot), on the twenty-fifth, at the sixth hour of the night, at the dawn of Sunday. On the twenty-sixth of the month March, on the sixteenth day of the moon, [and] he appeared to the apostles and many other saints and remained with them after the resurrection forty days. He ascended into heaven in the month of Artemisios, which is May, on the fourth day, the second hour of the day, on Thursday,¹¹² having been seen by the holy apostles and a multitude of others as he went up into the clouds, and by the holy angels, saying: "Men of Galilee, why do you stand looking up to heaven?"¹¹³ That is Jesus," and¹¹⁴ so forth.¹¹⁴ And the holy and life-creating Spirit descended upon the holy apostles in the month of Artemisios, which is May, on the fourteenth day, a Sunday, the first¹¹⁵ hour of the day. It was during the

¹⁰⁶ Thus in S; the Greek, "were opened," 241, 4; in the MS, a variant.

¹⁰⁷ Added in V, S; the Greek, "writings," 241, 5.

¹⁰⁸ *was buried*, S; the Greek, "was buried," 241, 8.

¹⁰⁹ Omitted in S.

¹¹⁰ *by that*, V, S; the Greek, "by that," 241, 12.

¹¹¹ *Caesar*, S; the Greek, "Kaisaros," 241, 12.

¹¹² *the fifth*, S; the Greek, "the fifth day (i. e. Thursday)," 241, 20.

¹¹³ *the heavens*, S; the Greek, "the heavens," 241, 23.

¹¹⁴ Omitted in S, and in the Greek, 241, 23.

¹¹⁵ *third*, S; the Greek, "third," 242, 2.

reign of Pilate of Pontus over Judaea, who had been appointed to rule¹¹⁶ this race by the same Tiberius Caesar who had abolished the czardom of Judaea and had set up a prince for them whom he himself had chosen. In¹¹⁷ those¹¹⁷ years¹¹⁷ the high-priestly office of the Jewish race was held by Annas and Caiaphas. After ¹¹⁸ the ascension¹¹⁸ of our Savior God during the reign of¹¹⁹ Tiberius Caesar, St. Paul left Antioch the Great, having first preached with Barnabas the word of truth in the parts¹²⁰ which¹²¹ are¹²¹ formerly¹²² near the Pantheon (Nophea), being named after a jawbone.¹²³ And having departed for Cilicia (Licia), Peter came to that Antioch from Jerusalem and taught the Word. And having received the laying on of hands to the episcopate there, he called himself the teacher¹²⁴ of the believing Jewish Christians. But he did not receive nor love the Gentile believers, but leaving them, went out hence. St. Paul returned afterwards to Antioch the Great, and having learned this about St. Peter, he removed all scandals,¹²⁵ and received and loved all equally, and brought all to the faith, as the most wise [chroniclers]¹²⁶ Clement (Klimis) and Tatian, have writ-

¹¹⁶ ruler, V; a variant in S, Ch.

¹¹⁷ Omitted in S and in the Greek, 242, 7.

¹¹⁸ forty years after the ascension, S; the Greek, "four years after the ascension," 242, 8.

¹¹⁹ S adds of that; the Greek, "of that," 242, 9.

¹²⁰ this word, *v stegnakh*, is of uncertain meaning.

¹²¹ which is, S.

¹²² Omitted in S, Ch, and in the Greek, 242, 12.

¹²³ The Greek, "in the street near the Pantheon which is called Singon," 242, 11.

¹²⁴ the successor, S, Ch.

¹²⁵ The word in the text, *za skopie*, appears to be a corruption, and is unintelligible; *scandals* is taken from the Greek text.

¹²⁶ Taken from V, S; the Greek, "chronographoi," 242, 21.

ten. [Czar Tiberius died a natural¹²⁷ death in the palace, being seventy years of age.]¹²⁸

V. (243-246). In¹²⁹ the reign¹²⁹ of Tiberius Caesar reigned Gaius (Gaios), who had (spread) great fear among all barbarian races before his reign. It was on that account that the nobles had appointed him czar. He reigned during the consulship¹³⁰ of Gallus and Nonnianus (Annus) and held the rule¹³¹ for four years and seven months. He was tall, handsome, with a thin face, ruddy, capable, with long hair, small eyes, quick in speech, irascible, and magnanimous. During the first year of his reign Antioch the Great suffered by the wrath of God; there occurred on the hill of Orontes a second fall. And having sent,¹³² the czar rebuilt it.¹³³ From the (first) year of the reign of ¹³⁴ Caesar Gaius, the faction of the Greens, having received hope from him, attained rule in Rome and within its limits¹³⁵ for three years and a half. For he favored them. In the third year of his reign those who belonged to the Blues in Antioch of Syria, raised a cry against the Greens then in the theatre: "Time raises up and time deposes, soldiers of the Greens, looking (to) Prince Pronoios, the consul."¹³⁶ And there arose¹³⁷ the

¹²⁷ Literally, *his* death, but used in the sense of "natural."

¹²⁸ Taken from S, Ch; the Greek, 243, 1-2.

¹²⁹ *After the reign*, S; the Greek, "After the reign," 243, 3; *After*, Ch.

¹³⁰ The text has the corrupted form *vapatiya*, instead of *v upatiya* (in the consulship).

¹³¹ Added *his*, S; the Greek, "his," 243, 8.

¹³² *sending*, S, Ch; the context requires that a word such as "money" or "gold" be added.

¹³³ *her* S, Ch.

¹³⁴ Omitted in S, Ch, and the Greek, 244, 15.

¹³⁵ *cities* S, Ch; the Greek, "in every city," 244, 17.

¹³⁶ The second pair of quotation marks, which belongs after *Greens*, is omitted; accordingly, the quoted sentence runs into the declarative phrase. The latter phrase is corrupt, and the general sense of it

city¹³⁸ a great popular¹³⁹ riot, and mutual hatred in the city. For the Greeks of Antioch, with those who were in Judaea, gathered all their nation,¹⁴⁰ killed many Jews and burned their synagogues.¹⁴¹ Hearing of it, Velestini,¹⁴² the priest of those Jews, whose name was Phineas, gathered a multitude of Galileans and Jewish citizens,¹⁴³ two hundred and thirty thousand, and suddenly came to that city from the city of Tiberias. And having killed many, this Phineas entered with the armed (forces) and then again returned to Tiberias (Tevias).¹⁴⁴ Czar Gaius Caesar seeing this, became angry with the nobles who were in Antioch, Ponton (Poanton)¹⁴⁵ and Varius, and reprimanded them before all, confiscating all their property and converting their estates in Antioch into¹⁴⁶ imperial¹⁴⁶ (property); also the palaces were made imperial.¹⁴⁶ And there-

does not correspond with the Greek text, which states that the Blues raised their cry while Pronoios was present in the theatre looking on (244, 21).

¹³⁷ was, V, S, Ch; the Greek, "arose," 244, 22.

¹³⁸ in the city, V, S, Ch.

¹³⁹ Added, a riot, S; a variant in Ch; the Greek, "riot," 244, 22; the text is corrupt, the meaning uncertain; I add the word riot to the text in accordance with the footnote.

¹⁴⁰ May be translated *people*; but the whole phrase is corrupt.

¹⁴¹ The Slavonic translator evidently misunderstood the Greek text, which states that "the Greeks of Antioch, clashing with the Jews there in a civil fight, killed many Jews and burned their synagogues" (244, 23).

¹⁴² Vlestii, S; in Palestine, Ch; the Greek, "in Palestine," 245, 1.

¹⁴³ Added, as, S, Ch; the Greek, "about," 245, 3; the word used for citizens is *grazhan*; it should be *grazhd'an*.

¹⁴⁴ Tiberias, S; the Greek, "Tiberiadi," 245, 7.

¹⁴⁵ Pontoi, V; a variant, S; the Greek, "Pontoou," 245, 9.

¹⁴⁶ to the czar, S, Ch; into czarist, V; the Greek, "their houses were called *basilika* (i. e. royal)" 245, 11; the translator mistook "*basilika*" for "palaces" (he uses the word *polaty*); he made a somewhat similar mistake in Book IX (Istrin, 12), rendering Greek "*basilikê*" (216, 19), *basilica* [literally *royal* sc. *stoa*] by *polat*, "palace" (cf. Downey, G. "The Architectural Significance of the Use of the Words *Stoa* and

upon he brought them to¹⁴⁷ Antioch¹⁴⁷ in chains, because they had failed to prevent the municipal riot and had not withstood the priest Phineas outside the city. Having sent to Tiberias, a city of Palestine, he seized that Phineas, the Jewish priest, and decapitated him as a torturer¹⁴⁸ and put to death many Jews and Galileans. They hoisted the head of the priest Phineas outside the city of Antioch, on the opposite side of the river Orontes. He rebuilt the burned (parts) in the city, having sent gold. In the same year this Czar Gaius was killed in the palace while he was washing¹⁴⁹ in the morning, by a *spatharius* and *cubicularius* eunuch, by the order of the nobles. He was thirty-nine years old, and had ruled three years and eight months.¹⁵⁰

VI. (B. 246-250). In¹⁵¹ the reign of Czar Gaius¹⁵¹ reigned Claudius Caesar Germanicus, during the consulship of Cassius and Solon. This Claudius Caesar reigned four¹⁵² years and nine months. He was short, stout, of bluish-grey (eyes), graying white, with a long face, taciturn. He built a city which he called after his own name, Claudiopoliis, near Oceanus. This Czar Claudius gave the control of the Greens.¹⁵³ During his reign Ephesus and Smyrna fell by the wrath of God, (and)¹⁵⁴ many cities of Asia, to which he sent much for the restora-

Basilike in Classical Literature," *Am. Journal of Arch.*, XLI (1937), p. 206).

¹⁴⁷ in that Antioch, S, Ch; the Greek, "in that Antioch," 245, 12.

¹⁴⁸ the Greek "tyrannos," 245, 18, which means *rebel* in this context.

¹⁴⁹ Omitted in S, Ch; in the Greek, 246, 1.

¹⁵⁰ Omitted in S, Ch; in the Greek, 246, 2.

¹⁵¹ After Gaius, Ch.

¹⁵² fourteen, Ch; the Greek, "fourteen," 246, 5.

¹⁵³ to the Greens, S, Ch.

¹⁵⁴ Taken from S; the Greek, "and," 246, 12.

tion. He lightened the labor¹⁵⁵ of the Antiochenes which they paid of smoke,¹⁵⁶ for the restoration of its (Antioch's) roofed colonnades, which had been built by Tiberius Caesar. At the beginning of his reign, ten years after the ascension of our Lord Jesus Christ, Evodius (Euvodios) became patriarch after the establishment of episcopacy in Antioch by Apostle Peter. At that time they called themselves Christians, assuming that name. Formerly, Christians had been called Nazarenes and Galileans. In the eighth year of the reign of Claudius, the Jews stirred up a great persecution against the apostles and their disciples, and plotted a war against the Romans. The first to be sent by them (the Romans) against them (the Jews) was a *Chiliarch*, Festus (Kinhos) by name. He defeated them. Claudius appointed their prince, Felix by name. They rioted.¹⁵⁷ Eighteen years after the ascension of the Lord, on the festival of the Pentecost,¹⁵⁸ Jewish priests heard¹⁵⁹ a human voice speaking from the inmost altar which is called the holy of holies: "Let us depart hence." This voice was heard crying three times, that the priests shall become the sacrifice, (and)¹⁶⁰ it is to be seen with¹⁶¹ you¹⁶² all. Since then began the Jewish destruction, as Josephus wrote. For ever since Jews had crucified Jesus, who was a pious and righteous man, if one may speak of

¹⁵⁵ The Slavonic word used here, *rabota*, might also be understood in the sense of *corvée* or *payments*.

¹⁵⁶ The word used in the text is *dym*, (smoke), but it appears to be a corruption of *dymina*, (smoke-tax), that is, hearth-tax.

¹⁵⁷ *exciting them*, Ch.

¹⁵⁸ The Slavonic text has the numeral for "fifty" in this place, not the name of the festival.

¹⁵⁹ *hearing*, S; a variant in V; the Greek, "heard," 247, 15.

¹⁶⁰ Taken from S, Ch; the Greek, "and," 247, 18.

¹⁶¹ *this*, S. Ch; the Greek, "this," 247, 19.

¹⁶² Omitted in S, Ch, V; the Greek, 247, 19; the phrase as corrected should read: (*and*) *this was seen by you all*.

one who performed signs as a man rather than God, troubles have not ceased in the Jewish territory. Thus has this Josephus expressed it in his Jewish written,¹⁶³ writing¹⁶⁴ up to that time.¹⁶⁴ During the reign of his¹⁶⁵ Claudius, Syrians of Antioch asked for five plays to be celebrated yearly: with children's dolls, with climbing pillars, wrestling, horse races, and fighting; and in other years with singing.¹⁶⁶ In the thirteenth year of his reign the whole island of Crete received punishment by the wrath of God. In those same years was found in the grave of Diktys (Diokt),¹⁶⁷ in a box of lead,¹⁶⁸ a description of the Trojan fight, authentically written by him. It lay near the head¹⁶⁹ of Diktys¹⁷⁰ body. Thinking that the box was of gold, they brought it to Claudius. He ordered it opened, to see what it was, and having copied it, to deposit in the public library. And Claudius died, having sent much to Crete for restoration. He died a natural death in the palace, having been ill for two days. He was sixty-five and a half years old.

VII. (B. 250-252). After the reign of Claudius reigned his son, Nero, during the consulship of Silvanus (Sulianus) and Antoninus. He reigned thirteen years and two months. He was tall and thin, gray, with a

¹⁶³ *writings*, S; the Greek, "writings," 248, 3.

¹⁶⁴ Omitted in S, Ch, and the Greek, 248, 4.

¹⁶⁵ Should be *this*.

¹⁶⁶ *repeated singing*, V, Ch; this whole sentence is of dubious meaning; several terms are translated freely.

¹⁶⁷ *Diktoos*, V, *Diktos*, S. Ch; the Greek, "Diktyos," 250, 3.

¹⁶⁸ The word *lead* is modified by an adjective which is abbreviated in such a way that its meaning is uncertain; it looks like "honorable," but that meaning does not fit the context. It is possible that the adjective should be regarded as modifying *Diktys*.

¹⁶⁹ *at the head*, S.

¹⁷⁰ *Dioktios*, S, Ch.

heavy beard, able. As soon as he began to reign, he began to inquire about Christ, not knowing that he had been crucified. He sought him, desiring to bring him to Rome¹⁷¹ as a great philosopher and miracle-worker. For he had heard of him prior to his reign. He did not wish to question him about anything, he sought him.¹⁷² This Nero was of the faith of the so-called Epicureans, who say that all things are without design. Having learned that many years before the Jews had crucified him (Jesus) solely on account of jealousy, although he was without guilt, Nero was wroth. And having sent (for them), he brought Annas and Caiaphas in bonds to Rome; Pilate, who lived in Palestine after his deposition, was also brought¹⁷³ bound. For Annas and Caiaphas had said many evil things against Pilate, clearing themselves, as having acted the law¹⁷⁴ and tradition. And having given much (money), Annas and Caiaphas extricated themselves, and were released. But Pilate remained in prison. During the years of the reign of his¹⁷⁵ Nero, St. Paul came to Athens, a city of Greece, and found there a philosopher, Dionysius the Areopagite by name, who was¹⁷⁶ an Athenian, agitated about philosophical teaching which he wrote about the sun as being an emanation of the divine light; he said other things about the creation. Seeing him, St. Paul spoke with him. And St. Dionysius asked Paul:

¹⁷¹ Thus in V, S, Ch; the Greek, "in Rome," 250, 19; in the MS, *the world*.

¹⁷² Either the negative particle in the text represents a corruption, or the translator misunderstood the Greek: "Wishing to ask him a certain thing, he sought to bring him," (250, 21).

¹⁷³ Thus in V, S, Ch; the Greek, "he brought," 251, 7; in the MS, a variant.

¹⁷⁴ *according to the law*, V.

¹⁷⁵ *of that*, S; the Greek, "of that," 251, 12.

¹⁷⁶ *known as*, S; Greek, "the celebrated," 251, 15.

"Whose God do you preach, O empty-worded one?" And Dionysius heard¹⁷⁷ Paul while he was teaching and adhered to him, praying that he might be sanctified by baptism. Paul seeing Dionysius' fervent faith, made him bishop in that region. This Dionysius wrote books [for the Hellenes.]¹⁷⁸ Paul then returned to Jerusalem.

VIII. (B. 252-258). During the reign of this Nero arrived a certain Simon,¹⁷⁹ an Egyptian magician, practicing magic,¹⁸⁰ illusions,¹⁸¹ and calling himself Christ. Apostle Peter having heard of him, came to Rome. As he was passing on his way to Rome through Antioch the Great, it happened that Evodius (Judeus),¹⁸² the Bishop and Patriarch of the city of Antioch, died. Ignatius assumed the office of episcopacy, having been appointed by St. Peter. It happened in those years that St.¹⁸³ Mark the Apostle died in Alexandria the Great, having been Bishop and Patriarch there. And John,¹⁸⁴ his disciple, received the episcopacy from him, as Theophilus wrote. Hastening on to Rome, and learning where Simon the magician resided, Apostle Peter went to him where he lived. He found a large dog tied with chains at his gate, whom Simon tied there on Peter's account and for those who came to him. And he (Simon) told him (the dog) not to permit anyone to enter except such as Simon should per-

¹⁷⁷ *hearing*, S; the Greek, "hearing," 251, 19.

¹⁷⁸ Taken from Ch; the Greek, "against the Hellenes," 252, 3; in S, *into the Greek*; the translator evidently misunderstood the force of "*kata*" here; the books were written "against the pagans." The word *Hellene* is to be understood in the sense of "pagan."

¹⁷⁹ Added *by name*, S, Ch; the Greek, "by name," 252, 6.

¹⁸⁰ *by magic*, S; the Greek, "by magic," 252, 6.

¹⁸¹ *many illusions and*, S, Ch; the Greek, "various illusions," 252, 6.

¹⁸² *Eudeos*, S, Ch; the Greek, "Euodion," 252, 10.

¹⁸³ Omitted in S and in the Greek, 252, 13.

¹⁸⁴ *Anion* in S; the Greek, "Anianos," 252, 16.

mit. There occurred a miracle when he (Peter) wished to come to him (Simon).¹⁸⁵ Peter, seeing such a great and terrible dog, and seeing¹⁸⁶ from those who stood before the gate that unless Simon ordered the dog, the dog would not let anyone enter,¹⁸⁷ but jumping on the one entering, would kill him, Peter seized the dog by the chains, shook him and said to him: "Go to Simon and tell him with human voice: Peter, a servant of the highest God, wishes to enter!" The dog went running.¹⁸⁸ And since he had been taught certain magical tricks, standing in the midst, he said with human voice to Simon: "Peter, a servant of the highest God, wishes to come to you." Those hearing the dog speak with human voice, were amazed and said: "What is this Peter or his power, of whom the dog has spoken, that he endows the dog with human,¹⁸⁹ making¹⁹⁰ him a messenger?" And Simon said to the people who stood and were amazed at Peter: "Let that frighten you today.¹⁹¹ For I will likewise command that dog to return him answers¹⁹² with human voice." [And Simon said to the dog: "I command you, go]"¹⁹³ and tell Peter with human voice: "Simon bids you come!" And Peter came to Simon and Peter encountered Simon the Egyptian, performing other¹⁹⁴ miracles, and vanquished

¹⁸⁵ to Simon S, Ch; the Greek, "to this Simon," 253, 1.

¹⁸⁶ learning, S, Ch; the Greek, "learning," 253, 2.

¹⁸⁷ S, Ch, add *it*; the Greek, "this," 253, 3.

¹⁸⁸ The word translated *running* in the present form is a corruption; the meaning is not quite certain.

¹⁸⁹ V adds, *voice*.

¹⁹⁰ to make, V; the Greek, "to make," 253, 14.

¹⁹¹ not added in V, S, Ch; the Greek "not" 253, 16; the sentence, in accordance with the footnote correction, should read: "*Do not let that frighten you.*"

¹⁹² an answer, S; the Greek, "an answer," 253, 17.

¹⁹³ taken from Ch, S; cf. the Greek, 258, 18.

¹⁹⁴ he also, S, Ch; the Greek, "he also," 253, 21.

Simon the magician by effecting cures. Many believed Peter and were baptized. A great riot and storm arose [in] Rome on account of Simon and the performed miracles. And hearing of the riot, Agrippa and the Eparch informed Czar Nero, saying: "There are, O Czar, certain men in the city who are performing miracles against each other. One calls himself the Christ, and the other says: He is not the Christ, but a magician; but I am a disciple of the Christ." And Czar Nero commanded that Simon and Peter be brought before him, and Pilate to be brought from prison. And they were taken before the Czar. And Czar Nero asked Simon: "Are you the Christ?"¹⁹⁵ And Peter said: "He is not. For I am his disciple, and he ascended into the heavens in my presence." And he (Nero) called Pilate and asked¹⁹⁶ him about Simon: "Is this the one that you gave to be crucified?" And Pilate approached and said: "This is not he. This one is long-haired and stout." And he inquired from him (Pilate) about Peter: "Do you know whether this one is his disciple?" He then said: "Indeed! The Jews who came¹⁹⁷ to me (thought him) to be his disciple, and questioned him; but he denied it, saying: 'I am not his disciple.' And I released him."¹⁹⁸ And straightway Nero ordered—since Simon had lied calling himself the Christ, although he was not, and since Peter had been accused by Pilate that he had denied Christ—that they be driven out of the palace. They remained in Rome, performing miracles one against the other. A great bull was brought to Simon, and he spoke a word

¹⁹⁵ Ch adds, *Then he said: I am*; the Greek, "And he said: 'Yes.'" 254, 11.

¹⁹⁶ *said to him*, S, Ch; the Greek, "said to him," 254, 15.

¹⁹⁷ *had been brought*, V, S; the Greek, "they brought him," 254, 20.

¹⁹⁸ The MS omits, *and to release them*; Istrin's footnote does not repeat correctly the phrase in the text.

into its ear. The marvel of it was that instantly the bull died. Peter, having offered a prayer in the sight of all, brought the bull back to life; this was a greater miracle! And many other (deeds) they performed against each other, as it is written in the acts of the holy apostles. [Apostle Peter by his prayer put to death Simon the magician, who wished to ascend. For Simon said to Peter: "You say that the Christ, your God, ascended up into the heavens. I will also ascend!" And Peter seeing the magician in the air in the midst of the city of Rome, Peter prayed, and Simon the magician fell into the middle of the road on the ground and was crushed. His bones are to this day to be found where he fell, and his grave is surrounded by a stone wall. Accordingly, that place is called the Simonion.]¹⁹⁹ Czar Nero having heard that Simon was put to death by Peter, became angry, and ordered him seized and beaten.²⁰⁰ But as soon as St. Peter was seized, he appointed and transmitted to one of his disciples, John²⁰¹ by name, the Roman episcopacy. He followed him (Peter) and was seized.²⁰² Peter himself was of an average height of body, of high forehead, had short hair, all grey, with head and beard white, pallid, with swollen eyes, a good chin, a long nose, with heavy brows, prudent,²⁰³ rash, easily pacified, of clear discourse²⁰⁴ by the holy Spirit, a miracle-worker. The bishop in Rome succeeding Peter was Linus (Anios), as Eusebius

¹⁹⁹ taken from S; the Greek, 255, 11-20.

²⁰⁰ *put to death*, S; the Greek, "put to death," 255, 22.

²⁰¹ *Liana*, S; *Innosa*, Ch; the Greek, "Lino," 256, 2.

²⁰² *was seized*, S, Ch; the phrase in the text is corrupt; the translation follows the footnote.

²⁰³ The compound Slavonic word *ploskomudr*, literally means "wide-wise"; probably it represents a corruption of *prostomudr*, "simple wise."

²⁰⁴ *discoursing*, S, Ch; the Greek, "discoursing," 256, 7.

Pamphili writes.²⁰⁵ Apostle Peter received martyrdom by being crucified head downwards, as the Apostle himself had requested of the Eparch, "that I should not be crucified as was my Lord." St. Peter died there in the consulship of Apronianus.

Nero also became angry with Pilate and ordered him cut down, saying: "Why did he surrender the so-called Christ to the Jews, a blameless man, performing wonders?"²⁰⁶ If even his disciple performs such miracles, how much more powerful would he have been?" During his reign, St. Paul the Apostle reached Rome, having been sent there from the Judaeen territory to be brought before him (Nero). He was martyred by beheading, on the third (day) before the calends of July, in the consulship of Nero and Lentulus (Lentukus). Czar Nero ordered that the bodies of the holy apostles remain thus (unburied), to be left as they were. St. Paul was of low stature, bald, of grey head and beard, with a well-shaped nose, and bluish grey (eyes), of heavy brows, clear complexion, ruddy countenance, a good chin, of sweet eloquence,²⁰⁷ endowed by the Holy Spirit in speaking and healing. Czar Nero sent to all Judaea and to Jerusalem and dealt evil to all, and dispatching armies, he killed²⁰⁸ many. For mourning them and crying out, they (the people) denounced Nero for having beheaded Pilate as in revenge for Christ. For he came to him; nevertheless it was they who, having the *voevod* (Pilate) in their power, crucified

²⁰⁵ Eusebius, *The Ecclesiastical History*, tr. and ed. by Kirsopp Lake (London and New York, 1926), III, 2.

²⁰⁶ Literally, *powers*, probably a slavish translation of "dynameis," 256, 19.

²⁰⁷ *with a weak* (a variant in S) *countenance, wise, eloquent*, V, S, Ch.

²⁰⁸ *killing*, S; the Greek, "killing," 257, 11.

the Christ.²⁰⁹ It was on that account that he was angry with them as with torturers,²¹⁰ and Annas and Caiaphas on their going out²¹¹ were put to death at the time by the soldiers. This Czar Nero seized during his reign another territory in the Pontus (Poitus), [having sent]²¹² there Polemon, his *strategos*. He established it an eparch,²¹³ called²¹⁴ it Pontus Polemoniacus. This Nero greatly loved the Blues.

IX. (B. 258-259). Following Nero, Galba (Gavlas) reigned²¹⁵ nine months and thirteen days. He was tall, strong, clean, bent, with greying hair, cruel. During his reign the bodies of the holy apostles, Peter and Paul, were buried by the order of this Czar. For he had been ordered in a dream to give the bodies of the holy apostles a burial. Galba died suddenly a natural death caused by hemorrhage, at the age of fifty-nine. In²¹⁶ the reign of Galba reigned Lucius Otho (Luios of Ophin) for three months. He was short, thin, strong, with long hair, small eyes, and an impediment of speech. During his reign Bishop Jacob, Patriarch of Jerusalem, died. He had been appointed by Peter in the latter's own place when he (Peter) had left for Rome. The episcopal throne was then occupied by Simeon, that is Simon, who became patriarch. And

²⁰⁹ The whole sentence is of dubious meaning; the Greek reads: "and he (Nero) acted against him (Pilate), notwithstanding that it was they who, having the governor in their power, crucified the Christ."

²¹⁰ "tyrannoi," 257, 16, i. e., rebels.

²¹¹ The translator misunderstood the Greek text, "symbolê," (257, 17), "in the fight," and used a word which can only mean *going out*.

²¹² Taken from S, Ch; "sending," 257, 19.

²¹³ *eparchy*, S; the Greek "eparchian," 257, 20.

²¹⁴ *calling*, S, Ch; the Greek, "calling," 257, 20.

²¹⁵ In the MS, *reigning*; the Greek, "reigned," 258, 8.

²¹⁶ Should be, *After*.

Otho died and Vitellius Augustus reigned one month and a half. He was of a medium stature, with a good chest, grey, ruddy, thick bearded, with good eyes, fierce. During his reign Nicomedia, a great city, the metropolis of Bithynia, fell by the wrath of God. He restored it. During his reign the Jews returned there, and killed Prince Cyrenius (Kurineus), having stoned him.

[When he took the city, he killed one hundred and ten souls²¹⁷ by cutting them down with the sword, and fifteen others²¹⁷ —young men and maidens—were sold as captives, as Josephus (Osif) said. He (Josephus) was a Hebrew, and was himself present at the battle. Titus destroyed the whole eparchy of Judaea.]²¹⁸

[Eusebius wrote that as the Jews had crucified Christ on their feast-day, so they all were destroyed on a feast-day, having betrayed the Savior and God.²¹⁹ It is the third plundering of Jerusalem of which Eusebius wrote. Titus, having won the victory, went to Rome. Vespasian built out of the Jewish plunder in Antioch the Great and the great Syria the copper cherubim which had been found by his son, Titus, attached to Solomon's temple. When he destroyed the temple, he took them thence and brought²²⁰ them to Antioch. To commemorate the Jewish conquest which occurred during his reign, he built a high statue²²¹ in honor of the moon, with four bulls facing Jerusalem. For Titus took the city at night when the moon was shining.]²²²

²¹⁷ Obviously the signs for "thousand" were lost in the transcription of the Slavonic text.

²¹⁸ Taken from S; the Greek, 260, 9-15.

²¹⁹ Eusebius, *op. cit.*, III, V, 5. —

²²⁰ S adds, *with the seraphim*; the Greek, "with the Seraphim," 261, 4.

²²¹ S adds, *copper*; cf. the Greek, 261, 6.

²²² Taken from Ch; the Greek, 260, 15-261, 8.

BOOK X, APPENDIX

In the above mentioned codex of the Sophia Library (St. Petersburg Theological Academy) No. 1454, the tenth book of Malalas' *Chronicle* is preserved in the following version:¹

In the forty-second (year) and the fourth month of the reign of Augustus, our Lord, Jesus Christ, was born eight (days) before the calends of January on the twenty-fifth of the month of Apellaios (Apileya), at the seventh hour of the day.

From Adam to the birth of the body of our Lord Jesus Christ (elapsed) five thousand nine hundred and sixty-seven years. Our Lord remained with men on earth thirty-three years. Accordingly, there elapsed from Adam to the ascension to heaven, six thousand years.

This was recorded by Clement, Theophilus, and Timothy the chronicler, agreeing with one another. Eusebius Pamphili said that the appearing of Christ in the sixth thousand years was in accordance with the six days of the creation of Adam. He (Jesus) was born and became man, he said, in the five hundredth and second year, and suffered and rose from the dead and ascended into heaven in the 5,305th year. They all say that the Lord appeared in the year 6,000, although many hold the opinion, after the word of prophecy, that he shall appear in the last years.

¹ The text abounds in contractions and is so difficult that the meaning is often obscure, if not unintelligible.

In the fifty-fifth year of his reign in the month of October, having made a sacrifice in the temple, he asked: "Who is to reign in Rome after me?" And he was told by the Pythia: "A Hebrew boy, ruling the blessed gods, commands me to leave this house and to depart to Hades. Likewise, you leave our houses." Caesar left the temple, went to the Capitolium, and built a large and high altar and inscribed on it in Roman: this altar is (dedicated) to God's great-grandfather.² This altar is to this day in the Capitolium, as Timothy wrote. The Caesar falling ill, lay down and died in Rome at the age of seventy-five years. He was childless, having kept free from the carnal sin. He was Mystagogue Archpriest as well as Czar. After the reign of Caesar Augustus in the consulship of Sextus reigned Tiberius Caesar for twenty-two and a half years.

In the fifteenth year of his reign, John began to preach the baptism of repentance.

In the eighteenth year and the seventh month of that Caesar, when our Lord was thirty-three years (old), he was betrayed by Judas Iscariot in the month of Dystros, on the twenty-third, on the thirteenth day of the moon, at the fifth hour of the night.

He arose on the twenty-fifth, at five o'clock at night, at the dawn of Sunday, of the moon the sixteenth (day).

After the reign of Tiberius Caesar reigned Gaius for four years and seven months.

He was assassinated in the palace by the order the nobles, at the age of thirty-nine. After his reign, Claudius Caesar Germanicus reigned four years and nine months.

² Cf. similar text above (p. 44) and the note appended.

He built a city and named it Claudiopolis after his own name.

In the beginning of his reign, ten years after the ascension of our Lord, and after the setting up by the Apostle Peter of a bishopric in Antioch, Evodius became Patriarch. And there Christians were so called, having called themselves formerly Nazarenes and Galileans, now called themselves Christians.

Claudius died a natural death in the palace, at the age of sixty-five and a half, having been ill for two days. After the reign of Claudius reigned Nero, his son, thirteen years and two months.

St. Peter was crucified by him head downwards. He (Nero) ordered not to bury him (Peter).

After Nero reigned Galba nine months and thirteen days. During his reign the bodies of the holy apostles, Peter and Paul, were buried. And Galba died suddenly a natural death (caused) by hemorrhage. He was fifty-nine years (old). After his reign, Lucius Otho (Vylivios the Athenian) reigned three months, and then reigned Vitellius Augustus eight and a half months.

Thirty-five years after the ascension of our Lord, Czar Vitellius took up arms against Judaea, and sent there his *Strategos* Vespasian, and Titus, his son. And they came and warred (against) Jerusalem. While they fought, Czar Vitellius died at the age of forty-eight. The army crowned Vespasian to the czardom (B. 259, 14-21; in S, Ch, omitted). Vespasian appointed his son to war against the Judaeian country, and himself returned to Rome and reigned there nine years and ten months. He died at the age of seventy. During his reign there

occurred a great persecution of the Christians by Decius³ (B. 260, 1-4; in A, S. Ch, omitted).

Titus conquered Jerusalem thirty-eight years after Christ's ascension, and put to death one hundred and ten⁴ souls, and other five⁴ young men and boys he sold as captives, as Josephus the Hebrew has said. Eusebius wrote that as they had crucified Christ at the time of their feast, it was during their feast that they all perished, having been sacrificed to the Savior and God. It was the fourth capture of Jerusalem, according to Eusebius. Titus, having gained victory, returned to Rome.

After the reign of Vespasian reigned his son Titus two years and two months, and died. After the reign of Titus reigned Domitian (Domentian) fifteen years and two months. He brought St. John the Theologian and questioned him, and exiled him to the island of Patmos, telling him secretly: "Go, keep silence that God has come." He tortured many Christians, so that many of them fled to Pontus as Bottios (Vytos), the chronicler, has written about them (B. 262, 7-21; omitted in A, S, Ch).

During his time the most wise Apollonius went about preaching and everywhere set up statues both in the country and the cities (B. 263, 18-20; omitted in A, S, Ch).

And in Antioch he made a scorpion⁵ without it being known; he made a brass scorpion and buried it. He set above it a small column; he also destroyed mosquitoes, as

³ This is obviously an error; the text is uncertain, insofar as the word translated "by" in its Slavonic form is corrupted.

⁴ There is a circle around these figures; probably that represents a sign for "thousands."

⁵ The word used in the text is *skorpia*, which is undoubtedly a transliteration of the Greek "skorpious," 264, 11.

Domninus (Domnin) has said (B. 264, 10-14; omitted in A, S. Ch).

Czar Domitian put him to death, becoming angry (with) such a famous astronomer. He himself, as he entered the temple of Zeus to make a sacrifice, was killed by nobles. They hung his purple mantle on the only chains of the censers,⁶ so that all who entered the temple were deceived, supposing that he had raised himself into the air. After his reign, (Nerva)⁷ reigned one year and a month (B. 266, 13-267, 11; omitted in A, S, Ch).

And he took John from the island and sent him to live in Ephesus (Ethes). This Nerva fell ill and died at the age of seventy (B. 268, 13-21; omitted in A, S, Ch).

⁶ In the Greek it is stated (267, 5) that his mantle was hung on a chain of the censers; in the Slavonic the whole phrase is in the plural.

⁷ This word is omitted in the text.

BOOK ELEVENTH¹

(B. 269, 1-2). After the reign of Nerva, Trajan reigned nineteen years and six months.

(B. 277, 15-18). And he died at the age of sixty-six. After Trajan reigned Aelius (Elios) Hadrianus twenty-five years and five months.

(B. 279, 12-13). He became angry with the Jews and ordered that Jerusalem be inhabited by Hellenes² and changed the name of Jerusalem to Aelia (Elas).

(B. 279, 21-280, 9). At that time a certain (man), Marcion by name, taught the polluted faith of the Manichaeans, preaching that the devil created living creatures. And many were beguiled, as the most wise Clement (Climis) described. This same Czar built a town in Thrace (Phraky) and named it Hadrianopolis. He died at the age of sixty-five of dropsy. After Hadrian reigned Antoninus Eusebes thirteen years.

(B. 281, 20-21). After him reigned Marcus Antoninus, his son, eighteen years and nine months, and died.

(B. 282, 14-15). And after that Antoninus Severus, his son, became Czar for eighteen years, and was assassinated.

¹ MS in the Sophia Library, No. 1454, 367.

² In Church Slavonic, the word could also mean "pagans."

BOOK TWELFTH¹

(B. 283, 1-2). After the reign of Antoninus Severus reigned Commodus twenty-two years and eight months.

(B. 288, 4-8). During his time games began to be performed in Antioch. Some wrestled, others raced, others sang jolly songs, others played trumpets, others feasted. There were also maidens² philosophers.

(B. 290, 3-291, 4). This Commodus died suddenly from hemorrhage at the age of forty-one. Then reigned Pertinax Lucius two months and eight days and was killed, at the age of seventy.³ Then reigned Didius (Dios) Julianus and Silvius⁴ seven months and was killed by a *cubicularius*.⁵ After him reigned Severus Septimius seventeen years and nine months.

(B. 295, 4). Having gone to war, he died.

(B. 295, 6-15). After the reign of Severus reigned Antoninus Geta one year and was killed by soldiers.⁶ Then reigned Antoninus Caracalla, the son of Severus, six years and twenty-two days, and was killed.

¹ MS in Sophia Library, No. 1454, 367.

² The word in the text is a contraction, usually representing the word for "maidens." But it may conceivably stand for some other word in this instance.

³ Cf. *Excerpta de Insidiis*, ed. C. de Boor (Berlin, 1905), 157, 27-28.

⁴ The Greek has "Didios Iulianos, also called Silbios," 290, 11.

⁵ Cf. *Excerpta*, 157, 31-33.

⁶ Cf. *Excerpta*, 158, 33-34.

BOOK THIRTEENTH¹

I. (B. 326-334). After the reign of Constantius (Kostyantius), reigned Julian the Apostate (Paravat),² relative of Constantius, who had been Czar before, at the time of the consulship of Mamertinus and Nevitta. He³—reigned two years.—³ He was of low stature, broad shouldered, handsome, with a good nose and eyes. He was a friend and contemporary of Libanius, the famous philosopher of Antioch.⁴ During⁵—his reign St. Dometius was tortured.—⁵ He went with the army against the Persians with a great force and descended upon Antioch. There he ascended the mountain called Casius, which is (located) six stadia from Antioch, and offered on the mountain a sacrifice of thousands to the god Zeus of Casius. From there he went to Daphne, where he celebrated a divine service in the Apollonia. And while sleeping there, he saw in a dream a ruddy youth who said to him: “You

¹ The MS of the Synodical Library, No. 280; the variants are taken from Pisarev's MS, No. 597. In the MS of the Sophia Library, No. 1454, only the following is preserved of the thirteenth book: (B. 326, 13-15). *After the reign of Constantius, Julian the Apostate (Provat), a relative of Constantius, reigned; he had been czar before.* (B. 334, 13-16): *After Julian, the law-transgressor, Jovian, son of Uranianus (Urinius), reigned seven months. He was a sincere Christian.*

² Adds, *two and a half years.*

³ Omitted.

⁴ Cf. John of Nikiu, transl. R. H. Charles (London, 1916), 78, 36; 80, 4-11; also *Chronicon Paschale*, ed. L. Dindorf (Bonn, 1832), 550.

⁵ Omitted; this was St. Dometius “the Illustrious,” who was left to die of hunger in his cave which had been walled up by the order of Julian (363).

shall die in Asia!" Leaving Daphne for Antioch, he was met by the nobles and the people.⁶ The people of Antioch,⁷ being ardent Christians, loudly derided him, swearing that he should not return. He became angry with them and threatened them, saying that would return,⁸ and said that the Antiochenes were rebels. Then he wrote a letter about them outside the city, in order to make them understand their humiliation.⁹ He departed from Antioch against the Persians.¹⁰ Passing the city of Cyrrhus (Kur), and seeing the people standing near the cave of St. Dometius in order to receive healing, he asked who he was. Being informed that he was a monk, and that a huge throng gathered and stood desiring healing and blessing from him, Julian sent to him a Christian *referendarius*, saying: "Does he expect to please his God by crawling into a cave? That does not benefit the people, to be alone." St. Dometius sent him the answer: "Having given my soul to God, for many years have I shut up my body in this cave. I cannot drive away these people who come to me with faith." The next day Julian ordered the righteous man to be walled up, and St. Dometius died there.¹¹ Taking the field against the Persians, Julian defeated them and intended to go to Babylon.¹² Czar Sabbourarsakios

⁶ Adds, of *Antioch and crying*.

⁷ Omitted.

⁸ The Slavonic text does not make it clear whether "he" or "they" would return.

⁹ The Greek says, "and he published the book which he wrote against them outside the palace in the same city," (328, 2-3). This refers to his *Misopogon*.

¹⁰ Cf. *Chr. Pasch.* 550, *Joh. Nik.* 80, 4.

¹¹ *thus*.

¹² Cf. the Tusculan fragment of Malalas (hereafter abbreviated *Tusc. frag.*) published in the *Spicilegium Romanum*, ed. A. Mai, II, 2 (Rome, 1839, reprinted in Migne, *Patrologia Graeca*, LXXXV, 1805-1824), 6-11; also *Joh. Nik.* 80, 13-29.

(Slunarsaki) being frightened, fled into Persian Armenia. With the purpose of enticing Julian, he sent two of his nobles, who by¹³ his¹³ order had their noses cut off,¹⁴ and dispatched them¹⁵ to Julian in order to beguile him not to pursue the Persians. These Persians with cut-off noses appeared before Julian as deserters from the Persian Czar, as if he had punished them. Upon their taking an oath Julian was deceived by them; he obeyed them and followed them with his army. Having thus deceived him, they led him one hundred and fifty stadia into a waste and waterless desert on the twenty-fifth of Daisios, the month of July. He found there old walls of the ruined city of Boubion (Vuvin), and another deserted village, with standing houses, which is called Asia to this day. The army which came here was without food, nor had the horses grass or water. It was a desert. The whole Roman army understood that the Czar had been deceived and had brought them into a desert. Many disorders followed. In the morning, on the twenty-sixth of the month of Daisios, July, the double-dealing Persians were brought for examination. They confessed, saying: "It was in order to save the native country and our Czar that we gave ourselves to die and deceived you. Now are your slaves ready to die." He gave orders not [to kill] them, and gave them (the Persians) his word, if they led them¹⁶ out of the desert. At the second hour of the same day, while he went among his soldiers trying to persuade them not to riot, he was suddenly wounded.

¹³ *He ordered them.*

¹⁴ *to be cut off.*

¹⁵ *Omitted.*

¹⁶ The Greek states, in elliptical fashion, that Julian gave his word to the Persians that they would be safe, in order to get them to lead the army out of the desert (332, 3-4).

He entered his tent and died the same night, as Magnes related. But Eutychianus (Evtukh), the Cappadocian chronicler, who was a *strategos* or *vicarius* of his detachment of the Armenians, being¹⁷ at that time in the army, wrote that Julian had entered on the fifteenth into the Persian country by way of the Euphrates, and conquering all, had occupied it up to the city of Ctesiphon, the residence of the Persian Czar, who had run away to Persian Armenia. Julian intended on the morrow to continue the march of his army to Babylon and to take the city. The same night, when he slept, he saw in a dream a man in a light cloak who entered his tent near Ctesiphon (Ksifont), and stabbed [him]¹⁸ with a spear.¹⁹ Crying out in terror, he woke up. All the *cubicularii*, eunuchs, *spatharii*, and all the soldiers guarding the tent got up, entered with the imperial candles and saw the spear-wound in his chest. Julian asked them: "What is this village called²⁰ where my tent is set up?" "Asia," they answered. And he immediately cried: "O Sun, slay Julian!"²¹ And pouring out blood,²² he gave up his soul at five o'clock at night. Immediately his chieftains, in order that the Persian soldiers should not understand (what has happened), decided to enter the tent of Jovian, who was a *comes* and *domesticus stratelates* by rank. Without informing him, they took him and led him into the Czar's tent. They told him: "Czar Julian is calling you." As soon as he entered the imperial tent, they took him and

¹⁷ So in Pisarev; the Greek, "himself," (322, 11); in the MS, *son*.

¹⁸ Taken from Pisarev; cf. the Greek, 332, 21.

¹⁹ Cf. *Chr. Pasch.* 550.

²⁰ So in Pisarev; cf. the Greek, 333, 2.

²¹ Or, *you have slain Julian!*

²² In the MS is added: *and throwing into the air, he exclaimed: "You have conquered, Galilean, you have conquered!"* The word used in the text, *iaer*, is unintelligible.

appointed him as czar on the twenty-seventh of the month Daisios, July, allowing him no refusal. The mass of the people who were in Ctesiphon and who [were encamped far away, did not understand (what had happened)]²³ until sunset.²⁴ Julian died at (the age of) thirty-six. The same night the most reverend Basil, Bishop of Caesarea of Cappadocia, saw in his dream the heavens open and the Savior Christ sitting on the throne, calling and saying: "Mercury, go and kill Czar Julian who rose up against the Christians!" St. Mercury, standing before Christ, wearing a shining iron armor, hearing the order disappeared at once. Appearing again he stood before the throne of Christ, exclaiming: "Czar Julian was stabbed and died, as the Lord had ordered!" Being terrified by this exclamation, Bishop Basil got up trembling. Czar Julian esteemed him as a scholar and one with whom he was familiar, and was in frequent correspondence with him. Bishop Basil entered the church for the early morning service, called all the clergy and told them of his mysterious vision, that Czar Julian had been stabbed and had died that night. They all implored him to remain silent and not to say anything about it. Eutropius the chronicler spoke about this in his narrative, (but) not in accordance with this account.

II. (B. 334-337). After the reign of Julian, the transgressor of the law, reigned Jovian, the son of Uranianus, who had been appointed by the army in the Persian countries, during the consulship of Sallustius (Salustrius).²⁵ He was of low stature, white, grey-haired, and a Christian. He reigned seven months. As soon as

²³ Taken from Pisarev; cf. the Greek, 333, 14-15.

²⁴ *sunrise*; the Greek, "sunrise," 333, 15.

²⁵ Cf. *Chr. Pasch.* 552, Joh. Nik. 80, 30-36.

he became,²⁶ he spoke to all the soldiers and nobles who were with him, exclaiming in a loud voice: "If you wish me to be your czar, then you must all be Christians!"²⁷ And he was acclaimed by all the soldiers, nobles, and military officers. Immediately Jovian, together with his army, moved from the desert to the Persian field, planning how to evacuate the Persian countries. Meanwhile, the Persian Czar, Sabbourarsakios (Laursaki), not having heard about the murder of Julian, was greatly frightened. He sent a messenger from Persian Armenia to him (Jovian), imploring him and praying for peace. Then Jovian ordered it, arranging a peace tribute through the mediation of Patricius Arintheus (Arinpheus), whom the Czar had sent to him. When Jovian came to Mesopotamia, he at once raised Christianity (to a higher level), appointing Christian princes and *voyevods* all over the East.

He left the East after imposing a peace tribute, and after a short time he returned to Constantinople with the army because the winter was soon approaching. It was severe. As he was on the march, he came to the land of Galatia where he died a natural death in the village called Dadastana at the age of sixty.²⁸

²⁶ *became czar*; cf. the Greek, 334, 17.

²⁷ Cf. Theophanes, *Chronicle*, ed. C. de Boor (Leipzig, 1883), I, 53, 29.

²⁸ Cf. Theoph. 54, 19.

BOOK FOURTEENTH¹

I. (B. 351, 1-4). After the reign of Honorius, the divine Theodosius the Younger, son of Arcadius, reigned alone, having been appointed by his father. He reigned for forty-eight years.

(B. 352, 9-12). He studied in the palace under his father, Arcadius.² After his father's death, another young boy, Paulinus by name, began to study with him. Theodosius loved him.

(B. 355, 7-9). When he became of age, he married a beautiful maiden who had come from Greece.³

(B. 355, 22-356, 2). He loved Paulinus greatly as a friend and match-maker and made him a *magister*.⁴

II. (B. 356, 16-358, 3). After many years it happened that the Czar on the Epiphany went to church; *magister* Paulinus had a sore foot.⁵ A poor man had brought from Phrygia for the Czar a very large and fine apple. The Czar and the nobles were amazed, and he gave him 150 gold pieces and sent it to the Czarina. She sent it to Paulinus, as to a friend of the Czar. The *magister*, ignorant of (what preceded), sent it to the Czar. The Czar took it and hid it; then calling the Czarina, asked

¹ MS in the Synodical Library, No. 280.

² Cf. Joh. Nik. 87, 1, *Chr. Pasch.* 575.

³ Cf. Joh. Nik. 84, 25-37, *Chr. Pasch.* 575.

⁴ Cf. Joh. Nik. 87, 2-3, *Chr. Pasch.* 579.

⁵ Cf. *Tusc. frag.* II, 14-16, Joh. Nik. 87, 4-13, *Chr. Pasch.* 584, Theoph. 99, 18, *Anecdota Graeca Parisiensia*, ed. J. A. Cramer (hereafter abbreviated Cramer, *Anec. Par.*), (Oxford, 1839), II, 308.

her: "Where is the apple which I sent you?" She answered: "I ate it." Then he abjured her by her salvation to say whether she ate it or sent it somewhere. And she swore, saying: "I did not send it anywhere, but ate it." Thus arose trouble between them and separation. On account of that guilt Paulinus was put to death. The Czarina begged permission to go to the holy places to pray.⁶ He let her go. She went to Jerusalem and lived there. She built a church sepulchre, and died.⁷ She was buried in Jerusalem.⁸

III. (B. 358-361). Theodosius was of middle stature, of clean face, handsome.⁹ During his reign Valentinian returned to Rome and the city of Constantinople. Attila, who was descended from the tribe of the Geped Huns, having great multitudes,¹⁰ sent a Goth messenger to Rome to Czar Valentinian to say to him: "My sovereign and your sovereign, Attila, commands that you prepare your palace for him." The same order was sent by a Goth messenger to Constantinople to Czar Theodosius. Hearing such exceedingly¹¹ great insolence, Valentinian, the first counsellor of the Romans, was filled with fear at Attila's words, and went to Alaric (Alarich) to Gaul

⁶ Cf. *Chr. Pasch.* 585, *Joh. Nik.* 87, 18-22, *Evagrius, Hist. Eccl.* I, 20-22.

⁷ Cf. *Chr. Pasch.* 585, *Joh. Nik.* 87, 45-46.

⁸ Chapters I and II are edited according to the MS of the Sophia Library, No. 1454, 370.

⁹ Cf. *Tusc. Frag.* II, 16, *Chr. Pasch.* 587, *Theoph.* 102, *Evag.* I, 17.

¹⁰ The two sentences beginning with *During his reign*, show a misunderstanding of the original text on the part of the Slavonic translator. The Greek text says that "In his (Theodosius') and Valentinian's reign, Attila, descended from the Gepeds, made war on Rome and Constantinople, with great multitudes of men" (358, 6-9).

¹¹ The word in the text is a corruption; the translation follows the footnote.

(Galilea),¹² an ally of the Romans, on account of Honorius, persuaded him and led him against Attila, who had ruined many Roman cities. As he was encamped near the Danube, they immediately and suddenly attacked him, and slaughtered many thousands of his (men). In the encounter, Alaric was wounded by arrows and died. Some thought that a maiden had brought about his death. The most wise Priscus the Thracian wrote a story about the maiden.¹³ Others said that Aetius had instigated some *spatharius*,¹⁴ who had stabbed him. Patricius Aetius returned to Rome, having gained the victory. Theodosius built a great church in Alexandria, a stadium¹⁵ in size, which up to the present is called (the church) of Theodosius.¹⁶ He loved Cyril, the Archbishop of Alexandria. The citizens of Alexandria, having received encouragement¹⁷ from the Bishop, usurped the power during his reign¹⁸ and burned on a brush pile Hypatia (Upatia), a famous philosopher, about whom a great deal has been said.¹⁹ She was an old woman. During his reign, the great island of Crete, which had "a hundred cities, in the midst of the sea," as Euripides had written, suffered by the

¹² *Galeya*.

¹³ Cf. Evag. I, 17, also C. E. Gleye, *Byz. Ztschr.*, III (1894), 627-628.

¹⁴ Cf. the Greek, 359, 5; the word in the Slavonic text is a corruption.

¹⁵ Literally, *having a stadium*.

¹⁶ Cf. Joh. Nik. 83, 37.

¹⁷ The MS omits *having received encouragement*; cf. the Greek, 359, 12.

¹⁸ The Slavonic text is not clear at this point. Literally translated, the phrase reads, *usurped his power during his reign in Upatia, a famous philosopher* (fem). The difficulty is increased by the dubious use of the noun *Upatia*, which may be taken to mean "consulship." The Slavonic translator might have actually so understood the noun, for he uses with it the preposition "in," which he would not have done, had he understood it to be the name of the "famous philosopher," that is, Hypatia.

¹⁹ Cf. Joh. Nik. 84, 45 and 87-103

wrath of God. All the surrounding (communities) also suffered by the wrath of God. There fell in the metropolitan city of Gortyna the public bath, which had been built by Julius Caesar and which had twelve chambers, according to the number of the months, and which paid a tax from one chamber each month. All twelve chambers were heated by a single furnace. A marvelous sight was to be seen! He erected also many other golden gates such as those in the city of Constantinople, which had been gilded by the consul Nymphidianus (Numphian).²⁰ In the same year, death conquered Valentinian, the Roman Czar. He was killed by a noble, Maximus, who assumed the reign in Rome.²¹ Theodosius angered Antiochus, the *praepositus patricius*, who was very powerful in the palace and ruled the palace. He had educated Theodosius during the lifetime of his father, and as *cubicularius* he had administered the city of Rome during his father's reign. Retaining after his death the rank of patricius, he was a regent of Theodosius. The latter became angry with him and brought him before the people, cut off his hair,²² and made him a priest of the Great Church of Constantinople. He ordered that none of the eunuch *cubicularii* be promoted to the rank of patricius after losing his rank, that is, from the office of *praepositus* of the palace. And thus Antiochus died a presbyter.

IV. (B. 361-365). Theodosius appointed Patricius Cyrus, the philosopher, a man wise in all things, as eparch.²³

²⁰ This sentence represents a considerable abbreviation of the original; it was a gate at Antioch which was gilded by Nymphidianus (cf. the Greek, 360, 15-20).

²¹ Cf. Joh. Nik. 83, 14, Evag. II, 7.

²² That is, tonsured him.

²³ Cf. *Chr. Pasch.* 588, Joh. Nik. 84, 48-58, Theoph. 96, 33, Cramer, *Anec. Par.* II, 310.

He kept both offices for four years.²⁴ Driving about in the city eparch's carriage, he took care²⁵ of everything. He restored all Constantinople. He was in all things altogether unsullied. The citizens, when they saw Theodosius in the hippodrome, shouted concerning him (Cyrus): "Constantine had built, Cyrus had renewed during²⁶ your time, Augustus!"²⁷ The Czar became angry that the people said concerning him (Cyrus) that "after Constantine, he renewed the city," and the Czar was angry with him. Cyrus having been falsely accused as if he were the only²⁸ patricius, he was degraded from his rank. He fled and was ordained to the priesthood. He was allowed to go to Asia as bishop and was appointed in the city of Smyrna. Its citizens had already killed four bishops. Smyrna belonged to the eparchate of Lydia under the proconsul (anphipat)²⁹ of Asia. Bishop Cyrus came to Smyrna before Christmas. The citizens and clergy learned that the Czar had appointed a Hellene³⁰ in order that they might put him to death. Accordingly, on Christ-

²⁴ In the MS and in Pisarev, the following phrase is added: *The eparchs enter the palace in a carriage and again with* (corrupt word).

²⁵ The Slavonic word is of uncertain meaning.

²⁶ In the MS, *for*.

²⁷ The meaning of the last part of the sentence in the Slavonic text is not clear.

²⁸ In the Greek it is said that Cyrus was accused of being a pagan (362, 3). The word *Hellên*, "pagan," was misunderstood, and transcribed as *edin*, that is, "the only." Then the noun "patricius" was changed to correspond with it.

²⁹ This evidently represents the Greek title *anthypatos*. On the variations in the accounts in other sources of the incidents reported here by Malalas, see H. Grégoire, "Miettes d'histoire byzantine," in *Anatolian Studies presented to W. M. Ramsay* (Manchester, 1923), 154-158. The life of St. Daniel the Stylite, mentioned there, has been republished by H. Delehay, *Les Saints stylites* (Brussels, 1923).

³⁰ That is, a pagan.

mas, in the church, they suddenly clamored that he should preach. Forced to go up and preach, he spoke as follows: "Brethren, the birthday of our God and Savior Jesus Christ may be honored by silence, as our Lord is born of the holy Virgin, being the Word of God. To Him be glory for ever. Amen." He was praised, and descended and remained there till his death. He (Theodosius) appointed as eparch Antiochus Chuzon the Great, who gave gold to Antioch the Great and provided an income for the hippodromes and for other games. After him Rufinus, a kinsman the Czar,³¹ was appointed as eparch.³² He was killed because he plotted against³³ the Czar. This Theodosius heartily loved *cubicularius* Chrysaphios (Khrusaphil), called Ztommas (Chumlva),³⁴ who was a very handsome man. He granted him everything he asked for. Being powerful, and encouraged by him (the Czar), and having rule in the palace, he asked or extorted everything from all. He was an ally and defender of the Greens in all things. During the reign of that Theodosius, Nicomedia, the metropolis of Phoenicia (Phiniskaya),³⁵ received a punishment by the wrath of God, having suffered the evil the fifth time. It was destroyed and sank underground and into the sea. He built there much: public houses, roads, harbors, theatres, as well as the church of St. Anthimus and all its churches. During his reign, and during the consulship of Theodosius and Rumoridus, Seleucia of Syria, which is in Pieria, was captured by the Isaurian brigands in the month of Peritios.³⁶ This country was

³¹ Should be, of *the czar*; cf. the Greek, 363, 1.

³² Cf. *Tusc. Frag.* III, 17-18.

³³ The MS omits *against*.

³⁴ *Chumva*.

³⁵ A mistake for Bithynia.

³⁶ Cf. Joh. Nik. 84, 40.

captured and pillaged by a certain Arion (Areoni), called Amaiem, who invaded it, and taking everything, returned to Isauria. During his reign, the city of Constantinople was punished by the wrath of God.³⁷ On the night of the twenty-sixth of the month of January (Eoaria), an earthquake destroyed the city from the so-called Togorasis³⁸ porticos to the copper *tetrapylon*. For many days the Czar participated in a litany procession with the nobles, the people, and all the clergy. The Czar founded an eparchy, separating (a part of the territory) from Lyaonia, which was named Lycia.³⁹ He gave that metropolis a constitution [and]⁴⁰ appointed a prince for the city, which was named Myra Lycia. A miracle of God occurred there: a mountain, visibly producing fire and water. He separated the second Syria from the first, and established an eparchy, appointing for it a prince, and granted the metropolitan constitution⁴¹ to the city of Apamia. He also separated⁴² the second Cilicia from the first, gave the city of Anazarbus (Nazavri)⁴³ a metropolitan constitution, and appointed a prince. He created also another eparchy, separating (a part of the territory) from Bithynia, which he named Honorias, after the name of his sister⁴⁴; he gave the metropolis⁴⁵ a constitution and appointed a prince in the city of Herakleia (Raklia) of Pontus. Dur-

³⁷ Cf. *Chr. Pasch.* 589, *Joh. Nik.* 84, 39.

³⁸ Corrupted from *Troadisnis*; the Greek, "Trôadêsîôn," 363, 22.

³⁹ Cf. *Tusc. Frag.* III, 20-22.

⁴⁰ Taken from Pisarev; cf. the Greek, 365, 2.

⁴¹ In the MS, *constituted*; cf. the Greek, 365, 5.

⁴² *Separating the second Cilicia*, which represents the Greek (365, 6) exactly.

⁴³ *Nazarvu*.

⁴⁴ The pronoun is masculine, and even the noun "sister" is treated as if it were masculine.

⁴⁵ *metropolitan*.

ing his reign lived Nestorius, who was Bishop of Constantinople.⁴⁶ An uprising which was caused when he began to preach forced Theodosius to call to the city of Ephesus a council of two hundred and forty bishops, which deposed him (Nestorius) from the episcopacy.

V. (B. 365-367). At that time there lived in Rome the widowed Czarina Eudoxia, daughter of Czar Theodosius and the wife of the Czar Valentinian.⁴⁷ Eudoxia complained against the tyrant Maximus (Maksimian), who had killed her husband and had ascended the throne. She persuaded the Rex of Africa, Zinzirich (Zinzichich) the Vandal, to go against Czar Maximus to Rome. He appeared suddenly before Rome with a multitude, captured it, killed Czar Maximus, and put all to death. He plundered the whole palace and the houses of money-lenders, and took the nobles with their wives as living prisoners. He also took Czarina Eudoxia with her daughter, Placidia (Ilakadia), the wife of Patricius Olybrius (Luvrius), who was then in Constantinople, as well as a maiden, Eudocia, and led all to Africa, to the city of Carthage. Zinzirich married to his son Onurich the younger maiden⁴⁸ of the Czarina Eudoxia, and held her in honor. Czar Theodosius, being informed that Rome had been taken because of what his daughter, Eudoxia, had wished, became vexed about her. Leaving her in Africa (Afrakia) with Zinzirich, without trying to free her, he departed from Constantinople to Ephesus, the city of Asia. He bowed before St. John the Theologian, inquiring of him, who was to reign after him.⁴⁹ Having seen it in a dream,

⁴⁶ Cf. *Chr. Pasch.* 581, *Joh. Nik.* 84, 59-64.

⁴⁷ Cf. *Tusc. Frag.* III, 21-22, *Evag.* II, 7, *Chr. Pasch.* 591.

⁴⁸ This "younger maiden" is Eudocia; "maiden," of course, means an unmarried daughter.

⁴⁹ Cf. *Cramer, Anec. Par.* II, 309.

he returned thence to Constantinople. A short time after that he went hunting.⁵⁰ During the hunt he fell from his horse, injuring his neck. He re-entered the city, called his sister, Pulcheria, and spoke to her in behalf of Marcianus, saying that he should reign after him.⁵¹ And he brought Marcianus and said to him before the people⁵² and all the nobles: "It was revealed to me that you should reign after me." After two days Theodosius died at the age of fifty-one.

VI. (B. 367-368). After ⁵³—the reign of Theodosius, the kingdom was taken over by—⁵³ the divine Marcianus, ⁵³—(who was) elected by the nobles.—⁵³ He was tall, with long hair. As soon as he became czar, he married the sister of Theodosius, Augusta Pulcheria, a maiden of fifty-four. Marcianus reigned six years and five months.⁵⁴ During his reign, one night in the month of Gorpaios (Grupia), (the city) of Tripolis (Atripolis), of the Phoenician littoral, was punished by the wrath of God. He built a public bath, to replace the one which had collapsed in the harvest time.⁵⁵ In it were two brass articles,⁵⁶ marvels of art, Icarus, Daedalus, and Bellerophon, with the horse Pegasus. And Phakalion re-

⁵⁰ Cf. *Chr. Pasch.* 589.

⁵¹ Cf. *Joh. Nik.* 87, 37.

⁵² (before) *Ospodar*, representing a misunderstanding of the Greek name "Asparos" (367, 3), or of a transliteration of it.

⁵³ After *Theodosius* reigned. Cf. *Chr. Pasch.* 590, *Joh. Nik.* 87, 37.

⁵⁴ B. 367, 9-12 in *Sophia* 1454 reads: *The divine Marcianus, as soon as he became czar, married the sister of Theodosius, Pulcheria Augusta, a maiden of fifty-three years. He ruled six years and five months.* Cf. *Joh. Nik.* 87, 44.

⁵⁵ The Slavonic translator misunderstood "the summer (i. e., harvest time) public bath, which had collapsed" (367, 14), referring "harvest time" to the participle instead of the noun.

⁵⁶ Literally, *creations*.

stored an aqueduct.⁵⁷ During his reign he convened the Council of Chalcedon, of six hundred and thirty bishops. During his reign Augustae Eu[do]xia and Placidia returned to Constantinople.⁵⁸ Olybrius received his wife, Placi[di]a (Plakia), and Juliana in Byzantium.⁵⁹ This Czar cut down Chrysaphios (Chrusanphius) Ztommas (Chumva), the *cubicularius*, a favorite of Czar Theodosius, an ally and defender of the Greens, because of the many slanders against him.⁶⁰ Czar Marcianus gave in marriage his daughter, by his first wife, and appointed Anthemius (Zlanthemnia) czar in Rome.⁶¹ She bore him a daughter, Anthemia, whom he gave to *voyevod* Recimer (Rikumir). This Czar loved the Blues. He issued an edict, when the faction of the Greens mutinied, that they should not enter⁶² the city for three years.⁶³ He was so angered by the mutiny that he developed a disease.⁶⁴ After five months of illness, (his wound) putrefied and he died at the age of sixty-five. Czarina Pulcheria had died two years before him.

⁵⁷ The Greek says: "And he restored the Phakidion and certain other things of this city along with the aqueduct" (367, 17). The Slavonic text is of uncertain meaning; it might be translated, *And he restored the Phakalion aqueduct*, for the case of the proper noun may be equally well taken either as the nominative or as the accusative. I have retained the word-order of the Slavonic text.

⁵⁸ Cf. *Chr. Pasch.* 594, Evag. II, 7.

⁵⁹ A misunderstanding of the Greek: "And Olybrius received his wife Placidia; and she bore Juliana at Byzantium" (368, 2-4).

⁶⁰ Cf. *Chr. Pasch.* 590.

⁶¹ The Greek text states that Marcianus gave his daughter in marriage to Anthemius and appointed him emperor in Rome (369, 9-11). The Slavonic text does not say to whom Marcianus' daughter was married.

⁶² *enter the city*, represents a misunderstanding of the Greek "politeuesthai," 368, 15; the Slavonic term may be a corruption of the verb "to rule."

⁶³ Cf. *Chr. Pasch.* 592.

⁶⁴ Literally, *a wound*. Cf. *Joh. Nik.* 87, 44.

VII. (B. 369-372). After the reign of Marcianus, Leo the Great, elected by the nobles, reigned for twelve years and eleven months. He was handsome. During his reign Anthemius, who had been appointed by Marcianus, ruled in Rome. At the time of his reign, the Syrian Antioch for the fourth time suffered a punishment in the month of Gorpaios (Grupia), September twentieth, illuminating by night for fourteen days,⁶⁵ in the year 506 of Antioch, in the consulship of Patricius (Patrakeus). Patricius gave the Antiochenes much gold for many undertakings. During his reign, Symeon the Great, the Stylite, fell asleep; he lived at the time of Ardaburius, the son of Aspar, who was the *voyevod* of all the East.⁶⁶ When the Antiochenes applied to him asking for the body of the godly man, this Ardaburius sent Gothic aids and they brought his body into Antioch the Great. He built a large temple of prayer in his honor and the coffin was placed within it. During his reign the *Quaestor* Isocasius, of the tribe of the Gea of

⁶⁵ The phrase beginning, *illuminating by night*, is hopelessly corrupted; literally translated, it is as follows: *illuminating fourteen in days* (or *day*) *the week by night*. The manner in which the Slavonic translator appears either to have misunderstood the original here, or to have had a corrupt text to deal with, may throw some light upon the vexed question of the date of this earthquake, which is given differently by the various sources. For discussions of the problem, see L. Ideler, *Handbuch der math. u. tech. Chronologie* (Berlin, 1825-6), I, 463-465; C. O. Müller, *Antiquitates Antiochenae* (Göttingen, 1839), 15; H. F. Clinton, *Fasti Romani* (Oxford, 1845-50), I, 658-660, II, 213-214; H. Lietzmann, *Das Leben des heil. Symeon Stylites (Texte u. Untersuch., XXXII, 4 [Leipzig, 1908])*, 230-233; H. Delehaye, *Les Saints stylites (Subsidia hagiographica, XIV [Brussels, 1923])*, x. The disagreement in the dates appears to be connected with the change made in the calendar of Antioch at about this period; see G. Downey in *Proceedings of the Amer. Philol. Assoc.*, LXIX (1938), p. xxxiv, and in the *Journal of Calendar Reform*, IX (1939), 37-39. Cf. Evag. II, 12, Joh. Nik. 88, 1, Theoph. 110, 22.

⁶⁶ Cf. *Chr. Pasch.* 593, Theoph. 112, 15, Evag. I, 13.

Cilicia, was accused of being a Hellene.⁶⁷ He was an oppressor⁶⁸ in Antioch and builder, who had attained many offices with honor.⁶⁹ He was very learned. He was seized by the order of the Czar. At that time he was in Constantinople, and after being deposed from his rank, was sent to the city of Chalcedon opposite Constantinople to Prince Theophilus of Bithynia. The latter was ordered to examine him. There was a certain doctor, Jacob of Cilicia, who was so loved by all the city and the nobles as a learned physician and philosopher that the nobles even set up his picture at the Zeuxippos (Zeksip). This Jacob implored the Czar, praying him that Isocasius should not be examined by the local Prince, but by the Eparch of the nobility in Constantinople, since he held the rank of quaestor. The Czar obeyed him and ordered that Isocasius be brought from Chalcedon, and he was brought to the Zeuxippos (Zeiskipus). And he was questioned by Eparch Pusaеus. Pusaеus began to speak to Isocasius, who stood before him naked and bound behind, as follows: "Do you see, O Isocasius, into what position you have fallen?" Answering him, Isocasius said: "I see and I am not surprised. I am a man, and I fell into human misfortune. But judge me with the same justice with which you judged together with me." Hearing the speech of Isocasius, the people of Byzantium, standing there and observing, greatly praised Czar Leo. Releasing Isocasius, they led him from the Zeuxippos to the Great Church, where he assumed a name, was instructed and consecrated and sent to his

⁶⁷ That is, a pagan. Cf. *Chr. Pasch.* 595, *Joh. Nik.* 88, 7-11, *Theoph.* 115, 9, *Cramer, Anec. Par.* II, 313.

⁶⁸ The word *oppressor* does not fit the context; it is possible that the Slavonic word *nasilnik* is a corruption of the word *nachalnik*, that is, "the superior," "the chief."

⁶⁹ Cf. *Joh. Nik.* 88, 7.

place.⁷⁰ This Czar ordered that no work⁷¹ should be performed on Sunday, and established a divine constitution about it; also that no reed instrument, nor lyre, nor any flute should be played on Sunday, but it must always be observed as a holiday.⁷² All the inhabitants were angry. During their reign, Patricius Aspar, plotting a revolt, being a senior noble, was cut down in the palace.⁷³ His sons, the nobles Ardaburius and Patricius, were likewise killed in the morning, and their bodies were hewn to pieces.⁷⁴ Thus a mutiny was started in Constantinople. There were numerous Goths,⁷⁵ *comites* ([ko]mits),⁷⁶ and other boys and men living among them. One of them, a Goth by race, belonging to Aspar, *Comes Ostrys* by name, entered the palace shooting along with other Goths. A battle between the *excubitores* and (the forces of) that *Comes Ostrys* broke out and many were cut down. And being surrounded and seeing that he would be overcome, he ran away taking dumb Asparada,⁷⁷ a beautiful and rich Goth girl.⁷⁸ They mounted a horse and rode to Thrace which he plundered. It was he about whom the Byzantines wrote: "No one is a guest of the dead, but Ostrys alone." Czar Leo began a great persecution of

⁷⁰ The Greek text has "chôra," meaning "country" in this instance (371, 4). It is possible to understand the Slavonic word in that sense.

⁷¹ Omitted.

⁷² Cf. *Chr. Pasch.* 596, *Joh. Nik.* 88, 5.

⁷³ Cf. *Excerpta* 160, 25-161, 14, *Chr. Pasch.* 596, *Evag.* II, 16.

⁷⁴ The passage beginning with *During their reign* represents a free translation, as the text is almost unintelligible.

⁷⁵ In the MS, *ogof*; cf. the Greek, 371, 14.

⁷⁶ In the MS and Pisarev, *mity*; cf. the Greek, 371, 14.

⁷⁷ *Nimêya*, which should be *nymphu*; in the Greek (371, 24) she is called the "pallakis," "concubine," of Aspar. The Slavonic translator took Aspar's name to be that of the girl.

⁷⁸ The Slavonic word translated *girl* means literally a young girl from 7 to 15 years of age, but also stands for a slave girl.

those holding the Arian faith, that is, the Hexacionitae, on account of Aspar and Ardaburius.⁷⁹ He sent everywhere an order prohibiting them from having anywhere churches or meeting places. During his reign, Constantinople was pelted with ashes instead of rain, which covered the bricks about a palm in depth.⁸⁰ All the people trembled and held litany processions, saying that a fire had fallen, but it was extinguished and turned into ashes by the grace of God. During his reign, there were in Constantinople more fires than ever before, and it was burned from sea to sea. The Czar was afraid to stay in the palace and came to St. Mamas⁸¹ and made there his residence for forty-six days. He built there a bath⁸² and a portico which are so called to the present time.

VIII. (B. 372-376). During his reign, Czar Leo fought a terrible naval battle with Zinzirich the Vandal, the Czar of Africa.⁸³ He sent many ships with Basiliscus (Balisk), the brother of Czarina Verina, the wife of Leo. This Basiliscus, accepting gold from Zinzirich, the Czar of Africa, betrayed to him all the ships, the princes, and all the army, and himself alone ran away in his ship and sailed away.⁸⁴ All his sailors and soldiers perished, drowning in the sea. Among them was Dux Damonicus (Kidimonesk), *voyevod* from the great city of Antioch, who strengthening himself against the Africans, remain-

⁷⁹ Cf. *Chr. Pasch.* 597, *Joh. Nik.* 88, 6.

⁸⁰ Cf. *Chr. Pasch.* 598, *Joh. Nik.* 88, 2-4, *Theoph.* 119, 29, *Cramer, Anec. Par.* II, 105.

⁸¹ St. Mamas' church was located in the Sigma quarter of Constantinople.

⁸² Literally, *purification*.

⁸³ Cf. *Theoph.* 115, 21, *Nicephorus XV*, 27.

⁸⁴ The Slavonic word rendered *sailed away* is corrupted; the rendering is free.

ed alone, was captured and cast, bound and weighted, into the sea. Basiliscus returned to Constantinople victorious. During his reign, Czar Anthemius was killed in Rome.⁸⁵ Being hostile toward his son-in-law, Recimer, the *voyevod*, and fearing him because he was a Goth, he went to St. Peter's on account of his illness. When Czar Leo in Constantinople learned of it, he sent to Rome Patricius Olybrius the Roman (Murin), with his consulship,⁸⁶ which he ordered⁸⁷ with Rusticius, in order to reconcile Czar Anthemius with his son-in-law, Recimer (Rimoro). Since he (Olybrius) was a member of the Roman nobility, he (Leo) ordered and said to him to reconcile Czar Anthemius with Recimer (Rikimor). Departing, he went to Zinzirich the Vandal, the Rex of Africa, being friendly with him, because his (Zinzerich's) son had as wife the sister of his (Olybrius') wife, Placidia (Paklikidina). He persuaded him to continue in his friendship. But Czar Leo suspected Olybrius as being for Zinzirich and (a native) of that country. Being on his guard before him, he said that when Olybrius would take up arms against him, he would betray the city of Constantinople to Zinzirich, as to his relative, and Olybrius would then make himself czar of Constantinople. As soon as Olybrius reached Rome, having left his wife, Placidia, and his daughter, in Constantinople, Leo wrote by a *magistrianius* the following to Anthemius, the Czar

⁸⁵ Cf. *Excerpta* 161, 15-162, 21, Theoph. 118, 2.

⁸⁶ When this passage is compared with the Greek text (B. 373, 14-15, *Excerpta* 161, 20), the mistake of the Slavonic translator is fairly obvious. In the first place, he mistook the Greek "Rhômaion" for *Murin*; the Greek phrase which follows, "after his consulship," he misunderstood by reading "meta" in the sense of "with" instead of "after," and so produced the version as given above.

⁸⁷ *poruchil* ("ordered") should doubtless be *poluchil* ("obtained"); it would then correspond to the Greek text.

of Rome: "I killed Aspar and Ardaburius that no one might resist my orders. Accordingly, you must kill your son-in-law, Recimer, that he may not command you. I sent you Patricius Olybrius that you might kill him. Rule by commanding, not by being commanded!" Recimer divided and stationed guards for assistance at all gates of Rome and at all harbors, that is, ports. All who came to Rome were searched for what they brought. When the *Magistrrianus* Modestus, who had been sent by Czar Leo to Anthemius, arrived, he was searched and the letters sent by Leo to Anthemius were found and delivered to Recimer. Having shown them to Olybrius, Recimer immediately sent for Gundabarius (Guvadarius), the son of his sister. He came from Gaul (Galelea), for he was the *voyevod* in Gaul (Galilea). Having come upon Czar Anthemius, he killed him in the holy church of St. Peter. And he straightway returned to Gundavarius.⁸⁸ Recimer, with the advice of the nobles, appointed Olybrius as czar, and Olybrius reigned in Rome. And Recimer appointed later another czar from among the nobles of Rome, Majorinus (Lavrian) by name, but killed him also. He had allied himself with Onzirich,⁸⁹ the Rex of Africa. Thereupon he appointed another czar in his place, Nepos (Neop) by name, from among the nobles. And Recimer died. Leo took two sons-in-law for his two daughters: for the elder, Leontia (Pheonia), Patricius Marcianus, the son of Anthemius, the former Czar of Rome; and for Ariadne (Aerdana), Zeno the Isaurian. He appointed both as *voyevods in praesenti* and *patricii*. The good Ariadne (Areanda) gave birth to her first-born, a son,

⁸⁸ The Greek says, "And Gundavarius straightway departed to Gaul" (375, 3-4). The distorted meaning of the Slavonic sentence indicates the translator's misunderstanding of the Greek original.

⁸⁹ *Zinzirich*; cf. the Greek, 375, 9.

whom she named Leo. Leontia bore only daughters. Czar Leo crowned Leo in his infancy, in Constantinople, making him czar along with himself. In the course of time Leo the Great fell into an illness and died of a worm at the age of seventy-three.

After him reigned Leo the Younger one year and twenty-three days. He was of small stature and of good appearance. During his reign he was under the tutelage of his mother Ariadne (Areanda). Zeno, the patricius and *voyevod*, crowned himself as czar because he (Leo) submitted to him as to a czar. Zeno the Isaurian (reigned) with Leo a short time, while the younger Leo was Consul. In the eleventh month of his consulship, being seventeen and a half years of age, Leo the Younger became ill in the month of Dios (Día), November, of the thirteenth indiction, in the year according to Antioch twenty-three, as the wise Nestorian, the chronicler, related of the life of Leo the Younger.

BOOK FIFTEENTH¹

Description of the fifteen years of Czar Zeno to the reign of Anastasius

I. (B. 377-380). After the reign of Leo the Younger, Zeno, his father, reigned two years and ten months. He was of middle stature. In the eighth month² of the second year of the reign he appointed Peter, *paramonarius* of St. Euphemia, which is in Chalcedon,³ as patriarch of Antioch the Great, sending (him) to Antioch. Zeno was worried because when his mother-in-law, Augusta Verina,⁴ requested his daughter for some weapons, he gave them to her.⁵ He feared lest someone living in the palace should kill him, for his mother-in-law, Verina, was living there also. He declared that he wished to go to Chalcedon. He abdicated,⁶ fled thence and came⁷ to Isauria, being its czar. Czarina Ariadne,⁸ who had secretly fled from her mother, came to him⁹ to Isauria and lived there with her husband. Immediately after the flight of Czar

¹ Book XV is edited in accordance with the Synodical codex; the variants are taken from the Chudov codex.

² Added, of Zeno; the Greek, "his," 377, 2.

³ Added, *bleaches and*; the Greek, "and," 377, 5.

⁴ *Iverina*; the same throughout.

⁵ The Slavonic phrase is confused, as a comparison with the Greek text (377, 5-9) will show. With the account of the incident given here, compare Evag. III, 3; *Chr. Pasch.* 600, Theoph. 120, 26, Cramer, *Anec. Par.* II, 314.

⁶ *abdicated and*.

⁷ Added, *and wife*.

⁸ *Czarina Iverina*.

⁹ Omitted.

Zeno and Ariadne,¹⁰ Augusta Verina¹¹ appointed a czar, crowning her brother Basiliscus. And Basiliscus, the brother of Verina, the mother-in-law of Zeno, reigned two years. He was of middle stature. This Verina, who had appointed the czar, named also the consul.¹² Basiliscus, beginning his reign, appointed his son, Marcus by name, as czar, and the two shared the rule.¹³ During the reign of Basiliscus and his son, Marcus, the city of Syria Prima, Gabbala by name, received punishment by the wrath of God and he gave fifty pounds for its restoration. And Czar Zeno marched from Isauria¹⁴ against Constantinople with a very great host, sending Isaurians and Trukundrians¹⁵ as guards to¹⁶ Antioch the Great. He heard that Patriarch Peter, who had been appointed by him, supported¹⁷ Basiliscus.¹⁷ When Basiliscus learned of the arrival of Zeno, he sent *Voyevod* Armatus with all the soldiers he had in Thrace,¹⁸ Constantinople, and the palace, and adjured them¹⁹ by the holy baptism not to surrender the army. And taking the countless host of the army,²⁰ Armatus drew near. Czar Zeno, having been informed of it in advance, sent to him with great promises of²¹ a life-long voyevodship for him, and for his son an appoint-

¹⁰ *Iverina*.

¹¹ *Verna*.

¹² Cf. Joh. Nik. 88, 27.

¹³ Cf. Joh. Nik. 88, 26.

¹⁴ *Sauria*.

¹⁵ Trocundes is the name of Illus' brother (379, 1); the Slavonic translator made it a plural name, to correspond with *Isaurians*.

¹⁶ *and in*.

¹⁷ *stands for*. Cf. *Chr. Pasch.* 600, Joh. Nik. 88, 36, Theoph. 124, 10, Evag. III, 24.

¹⁸ *in Africa*; the Greek, "in Thrace," 379, 6.

¹⁹ Literally, *us*.

²⁰ Omitted.

²¹ Omitted.

ment as caesar. Having heard from Zeno,²² Armatus adhered to Zeno²³ and joined him. But he chose another line of march and did not meet Zeno. Czar Zeno hastened with his army from Isauria and crossing the sea from Pylae,²⁴ he entered Constantinople and the palace with his army; he was received by the²⁵ army and the nobles. The Green Faction, which loved them,²⁶ also rejoiced. Basiliscus suddenly hearing that Zeno had entered the palace, and that all citizens, as well as his mother-in-law, Augusta Verina, had accepted him, taking his wife,²⁷ children, he fled into the great baptistery of the Great Church of Constantinople. He was betrayed by Armatus during the consulship of Theuderich. Czar Zeno, uncovering²⁸ the curtain of the hippodrome, immediately entered to show himself and was received by the citizens. And he sent to the Great Church,²⁹ took away from Basiliscus and³⁰ wife and his son the imperial (regalia) and all else. Then he expelled him and his wife and children, giving them his word that they should not be executed.³¹ He let them go to Limnae,³² a city of Cappadocia, where they were thrown into one of the castle towers and there walled in. They were guarded by Isaurian³³ soldiers,

²² The Greek, "Being won over by Zeno," 379, 12.

²³ Added, Czar; the Greek, "Emperor," 379, 13.

²⁴ Added, *and*; the Greek, "and," 379, 17.

²⁵ Added, *his*.

²⁶ *him*.

²⁷ Added, *and*; the Greek, "and," 380, 2.

²⁸ *uncovered*.

²⁹ Added, *and*; the Greek, "and," 380, 8.

³⁰ Added, *his*; the Greek, "his," 380, 9.

³¹ Cf. Evag. III, 8.

³² *Limenny*. The place was east of Sasima; see Pauly-Wissowa, *Realencycl. d. klass. Altertumswiss.*, XIII, 706, no. 7, and W. M. Ramsay, *The Historical Geography of Asia Minor* (London, 1890), 294.

³³ *Saurian*.

and dying of starvation, gave up their souls. They were buried in the castle tower.

II. (B. 380-383). Zeno reigned³⁴ fifteen years and two months. The other inhabitants³⁵ of Basiliscus are included in³⁶ Zeno's reign.³⁷ As soon as Zeno arrived,³⁸ he immediately dismissed Peter, Patriarch of Antioch, as having been a friend of Basiliscus, sending him to Euchaita³⁹ in Pontus, and appointing⁴⁰ Stephen as patriarch in his place.⁴¹ Zeno distributed many gifts among those who accepted⁴² his rule.⁴³ During his reign, Bishop Stephen, whom he had appointed, was assassinated as a Nestorian with a sharpened reed by the clergy of Antioch, while he was conducting a litany procession outside the city to the Church of the Forty Saints, that is known as Barlais place.⁴⁴ His body was thrown into the river Orontes. Learning of this, Zeno appointed another patriarch, Calandion by name. But he was also driven out as a Nestorian. Then Czar Zeno,⁴⁵ yielding to the requests and the cries of the people of Antioch, recalled Bishop Peter from the exile. He returned from Euchaita, and was again patriarch and died at his post, wearing *galigia* and *ordaria*. During his reign he (Zeno) appointed to the rank, ⁴⁶—and he was

³⁴ Added, *again*.

³⁵ A corrupted word, *obiteli* (inhabitants), may be from *oba leta*, i. e. *two years*; the sentence then should read: *The other two years*. . . .

³⁶ Added, *the number of*.

³⁷ Cf. *Chr. Pasch.* 600.

³⁸ Omitted.

³⁹ *Echatu*.

⁴⁰ *and appointed*; the Greek "and made," 380, 24.

⁴¹ Cf. *Joh. Nik.* 88, 43.

⁴² *who accepted again*.

⁴³ Cf. *Joh. Nik.* 88, 45.

⁴⁴ Cf. *Evag. III*, 10, *Theoph.* 128, 17, *Joh. Nik.* 88, 44 and 63.

⁴⁵ Added, *again*.

Caesar,—⁴⁸ the⁴⁷ *Stratelates* Armatus.⁴⁸ Sitting with Zeno in the hippodrome,⁴⁹ looking on,⁵⁰ the Czar and the Caesar were distributing honors to the jockeys. Czar Zeno thought to himself: *Stratelates* Armatus, the father of the Cae[sar], had violated his oath which he had sworn to Czar Basiliscus by the holy baptism, and yet had renounced him. Because of my promises, he (Armatus) had betrayed⁵¹ (him, Basiliscus), and he had died; how can he (Armatus) keep faith with my rule? For in a little while, as soon as⁵² his son, the Caesar, reaches manhood, he will betray me also. I did not betray him, but appointed him to the post of *stratelates*, and his son czar.⁵³ And he ordered Armatus to be put to death as a perjurer. And they killed⁵⁴ in the *colchium* of the palace, as he was entering the hippodrome to watch. After the murder of Armatus, he appointed his son, the Caesar, then still a child, bishop of Cyzicus (Kuzitza), the metropolis of Hellespontus. While he yet robed himself in the imperial purple as caesar, he divided⁵⁵—all the property of Armatus.—⁵⁵ At the time of the reign of that Zeno, there were found some (members) of the nation of Samaritans in Palestine who rejected (him) and crowned a bandit

⁴⁶ *Zeno the son (of)*

⁴⁷ *the son of*; the Greek, "the son of the *Stratelates* Armatus," 381, 15; the text is corrupted; it was the son of Armatus who was made caesar.

⁴⁸ Cf. *Chr. Pasch.* 602, *Evag.* III, 24, *Joh. Nik.* 88, 45.

⁴⁹ The word for *hippodrome* is corrupted; it may possibly mean something else.

⁵⁰ Added, *and*; the Greek, "and," 381, 17.

⁵¹ A variant, and added, *him*; the Greek, "him," 382, 1.

⁵² Omitted.

⁵³ *caesar*; the Greek, "Kaisara," 382, 5.

⁵⁴ Added, *him*.

⁵⁵ Omitted.

chieftain, Ioustasas (Usta),⁵⁶ the Samaritan, by name.⁵⁷ He entered Caesarea⁵⁸—during the administration of Palestine by Porphyry, appeared in the hippodrome, and put many to death.—⁵⁹ And Ioustasas burned St. Procopius at the time of Timothy, Bishop of Caesarea. A[s]clepiades,⁵⁹ the Dux of Palestine, mustered his force, together with the prosecutor of bandits, Rheges,⁶⁰ an official of Caesarea, with the Arkadakoi. They hastened against him (Ioustasas) with their troops, and surrounded⁶¹ him. And capturing him, they beheaded,⁶² and sent his head with the crown to Czar Zeno. Czar Zeno⁶³ immediately⁶³ converted their synagogue, which was on Mount Gargad,⁶⁴ into a temple of prayer of the Theotokos Mary, and rebuilt (the church of) St. Procopius. He issued an order that no Samaritan be admitted into the army. There was fear and peace.

III. (B. 383-389). During his reign, Theuderich (Pheodorit), the son of Valemar, the *Stratelates in praesenti*, who had been deposed from the consulship, seeing what befell Armatus, feared the Czar.⁶⁵ He took all his aids and left the city of Constantinople for Selymbria (Salambria) and conquered those settled there. And straightway he harried and conquered all Thrace. Tak-

⁵⁶ *Justa*; the Greek, "Ioustasan," 382, 11.

⁵⁷ Cf. *Excerpta* 162, 22-36, *Chr. Pasch.* 603.

⁵⁸ Omitted.

⁵⁹ *Asclipiadis*, Ch.; the Greek, "Asklêpiadês," 382, 16; in the MS and Ch., *mustered* is omitted.

⁶⁰ *Rogis*.

⁶¹ *and defeated*.

⁶² Added, *him*.

⁶³ Omitted.

⁶⁴ Presumably Mount Garizim.

⁶⁵ Cf. *Excerpta* 163, 1-21, *Joh. Nik.* 88, 47, *Theoph.* 130, 32, *Evag.* III, 27.

ing up arms against Czar Zeno, he advanced as far as the place of figs outside⁶⁶ [the city of Constantinople, and passed] many days there, being unable to harm him. Then abandoning the place, he hastened to Rome, which was under Odoacer (Idoak), Rex of the barbarians. And fighting him, supported by the counsel and the treachery of all the nobles of Rome, he took it without⁶⁷ plundering. He killed Odoacer, the Rex, and conquered Rome and reigned forty-seven years, being rex in the place of the latter. Thereafter, he became a friend of Zeno and did everything according to his will; he appointed Constantinopolitan consuls and eparchs, and his great princes received from Czar Zeno the *codicilli*; and although first informing him who was to be reappointed, he received from that Czar appointments to the rank of the wand of the consuls. As soon as Theuderich became ruler in Rome, there came to him the only⁶⁸ noble lady, Juvenalia by name, complaining to him that⁶⁹ "for three years I have had a dispute with Patricius Formus.⁷⁰ Free me of it." He brought⁷¹ the judges of both parties and said to them: "If you do not⁷² answer them and do not pronounce judgment by tomorrow morning, and if you do not settle the case by the third day, I will have you beheaded!" After the lapse of two days, they informed⁷³—him of the deci-

⁶⁶ A variant; added in Ch.; the Greek, "opposite Constantinople . . . And passing . . ." 383, 12.

⁶⁷ The Slavonic word, *bes*, is misspelled: if the correct spelling is *bez*, then the translation as adopted is correct; if it should be *ves*, or *v's*, or *use*, then it should be: *took it, plundering all*.

⁶⁸ Probably a corrupted expression for *a certain*.

⁶⁹ *that already*.

⁷⁰ Omitted. Cf. *Chr. Pasch.* 604, *Joh. Nik.* 88, 52.

⁷¹ *He said, I will bring.*

⁷² Omitted.

sion, (and) issued—⁷³ a decree settling (the case). Juvenalia, lighting a candle, came to him, thanking him for saving her from the trial. The Rex became angry with the judges and said: "That which you accomplished in two days,⁷⁴ you had not been able to accomplish for three⁷⁴ years?" And he ordered both judges beheaded. This aroused great fear. He completed the codification of all laws. And leaving the city of Rome, he took up his residence in Ravenna, a maritime city, until his death. After his death, his grandson, Alarich (Atalarich), was Rex in Rome.⁷⁵ He was an Arian by faith, that ⁷⁶—is, Hexacionita.—⁷⁶ During the reign of Zeno, Constantinople as far as the Taurus received punishment by the wrath of God, and for the second time suffered from an earthquake during the month of September. For Nicomedia, the metropolis of Bithynia, it was the sixth punishment; likewise in this region for Helenopolis. Zeno gave [th]em⁷⁷ much for the restoration. During the reign of this Zeno, Mammianus, a Patricius of Syrian Antioch, of Phoenician descent, did much building in Daphne of Syria.⁷⁸ During the time of this Zeno, there occurred a rupture with Patricius Illus the Isaurian, who had been a friend of the Czar and who ⁷⁹—had brought Zeno—⁷⁹ back with a great force on his second⁸⁰ return from Isauria,⁸¹

⁷³ Omitted.

⁷⁴ *And they answered him* (this phrase does not fit the place marked in Istrin's text).

⁷⁵ Cf. Evag. III, 37, IV, 19, Joh. Nik. 88, 56.

⁷⁶ Omitted.

⁷⁷ *for them*; the Greek, "to them," 385, 8.

⁷⁸ Cf. Evag. III, 28.

⁷⁹ Omitted.

⁸⁰ *in the second*.

⁸¹ *Sauria*.

when he had fled from Constantinople.⁸² Illus, having come to Constantinople with Czar Zeno who trusted him and favored him, plotted with Czar Zeno to drive out Zeno's⁸³ mother-in-law⁸⁴ from the palace, in order that she might not again conspire against Zeno as before. Zeno sent this⁸⁵ Illus to Isauria, instructing him to bring Longinus, the brother of Zeno. And departing,⁸⁶ Illus⁸⁶ began to extort⁸⁷ in Isauria, and wrote letters to Zeno that his mother-in-law, Augusta⁸⁸ Verina, came and gave word to Illus as fearing Czar Zeno. Czar Zeno, as her son-in-law, convinced Verina, on the advice of Illus and Zeno's own (opinion), telling her to go and give him word not to fear Czar Zeno,⁸⁹ to bring⁹⁰ Illus,⁹¹ Longinus, the brother of Zeno. Augusta Verina went to Isauria. Receiving her, Illus⁹² confined her⁹³ in a castle,⁹⁴ having⁹⁵—with him a host of a large army,—⁹⁵ and ordered her guarded⁹⁶ in⁹⁷ the castle⁹⁷ by Isaurian⁹⁷ soldiers. And

⁸² Cf. *Excerpta* 163, 22-166, 28, Evag. III, 27, 35, Joh. Nik. 88, 65, Theoph. 127, 13, Cramer, *Anec. Par.* II, 315.

⁸³ *Iverina, Zeno's.*

⁸⁴ Added, *his.*

⁸⁵ Omitted.

⁸⁶ *going, Allus.*

⁸⁷ (*began to*) *invite*; the Greek, "remained," 385, 20; the Slavonic word *nutiti* means "to force," "to extort," "to compel," an obvious mis-translation of the Greek.

⁸⁸ Omitted.

⁸⁹ Added, *and*; the Greek "and," 386, 5.

⁹⁰ A variant, Ch.; the Greek, "to bring," 386, 5; in the MS, *bringing.*

⁹¹ *to Allus.*

⁹² Added, *and.*

⁹³ *her*, Ch.; in the MS, *about.*

⁹⁴ Added, *Saurian*; the Greek, "in Isauria," 386, 5; the number is omitted in Istrin's text.

⁹⁵ Omitted.

⁹⁶ Added, *her*; the Greek, "her," 386, 8.

⁹⁷ Omitted, also in the Greek, 386, 8.

taking Longinus, he came⁹⁸ to Constantinople. And Illus became a noble, a consul, a *magister*, and patricius, and administered the whole city. Likewise Longinus, the brother of Zeno, being *Stratelates* of the great *praesenti*, straightway became consul.⁹⁹ But Czarina Ariadne, the wife of Czar Zeno, received letters from her mother, Verina. She begged the Czar to release her,¹⁰⁰ Augusta Verina,¹⁰¹ from the castle. The Czar answered: "Ask Patricius Illus for her." And calling,¹⁰² she tearfully [besought]¹⁰³ him in behalf of her mother, that she might be released. But Illus did not yield and¹⁰⁴ did not¹⁰⁴ say to her: "Are you imploring on her behalf? Will she thus¹⁰⁵ appoint another czar in your husband's place?" Afterwards, this¹⁰⁶ Ariadne said to Czar Zeno: "Either Illus resides in the palace or I!" Then the Czar answered her: "Do as you will. But I desire that you stay!"¹⁰⁷ Immediately, Ariadne plotted how to put Illus to death for not permitting her mother to return. She straightway ordered Urbicius,¹⁰⁸ a *cubicularius*,¹⁰⁹ to find someone who would assassinate Illus. The horse races being held, Czar Zeno called Patricius Illus¹¹⁰ from his ¹¹¹—seat, and

⁹⁸ *and brought.*

⁹⁹ Omitted.

¹⁰⁰ Omitted, also in the Greek, 387, 3.

¹⁰¹ Added, *and*; the Greek, "and," 387, 4.

¹⁰² Added, *him*; the Greek, "him," 387, 6.

¹⁰³ The Greek, "besought," 387, 6; in the MS, omitted.

¹⁰⁴ *but*; the Greek, "but," 387, 8; that is, it should read: *did not yield, but said.*

¹⁰⁵ *in order that*; the Greek, "in order that," 387, 8.

¹⁰⁶ Omitted, also in the Greek, 387, 10.

¹⁰⁷ *you reside in the palace.* And.

¹⁰⁸ *Uvrikius*; he was the grand chamberlain.

¹⁰⁹ Omitted.

¹¹⁰ *Allus.*

¹¹¹ Omitted.

dispatched—¹¹¹ him to the palace to bring (some) bar-[bar]ian emissaries. When he entered the *colchium*, a certain *scholarius*, Sporacius¹¹² by name, struck¹¹³ with the sword, intending to cut him in two. But one of Illus' *spatharii*, standing near, flung up his right hand, thus deflecting (the stroke). The tip of the sword cut off his (Illus') right ear. The *scholarius* was killed. Illus, lifted up by his men, and carried by the servants, was brought to his quarters. Hearing of it, Czar Zeno swore that he had not known of the plot. But Illus, disbelieving it, was greatly troubled. Being improved,¹¹⁴ he crossed the sea, cogitating what he should do. After the wound¹¹⁵ from the sword cut had healed, he continued to wear a hat on his head. He went to Zeno and begged him for a short leave to go to the eastern parts, for the sake of change to better air, as he was still suffering from the wound. As the Czar ¹¹⁶—believed him, he relieved him of the rank of *magister* and appointed him the *Stratelates* of the Orient,—¹¹⁶ where Plato, Eparch of the city, had deserted to save himself from the assault of the people, ¹¹⁶—and granted him full power to conduct everything as he pleased, and to the Dux.—¹¹⁶ Upon leaving,¹¹⁷ Illus requested to take along Patricius Leontius for the release of the Czarina,¹¹⁸ so that he (Leontius) might accompany him

¹¹² *Sporas*.

¹¹³ Added, *him*; the Greek, "him," 387, 14.

¹¹⁴ *When he got relief from the pain*; the Slavonic text is corrupt; the translation is only approximate.

¹¹⁵ *pain*.

¹¹⁶ Omitted; the last phrase is translated literally, for it does not possess clear meaning. The noun, *the Dux*, is in the dative. Theophanes (128, 6) renders the passage as follows: "giving him full power, as well as (the power) to appoint duces." Evidently the translator misunderstood the Greek because of the ellipsis.

¹¹⁷ *departing*.

¹¹⁸ Added, *Iverina and*.

(Illus) and might conduct back the mother of the Czarina Ariadne, Augusta Verina. With Illus went also other¹¹⁹—nobles. Then Illus entered Antioch the Great, surrounded by—¹¹⁹ a numerous army, with the above-mentioned Patricius Leontius, by birth a Thracian, and many other princes and *comites*. He remained in Antioch two years, building certain places of the city and giving the Antiochenes many (gifts). He left Antioch for Isauria, proclaimed himself for (on the side of) Augusta Verina and released her from the castle. He told her to appoint Patricius Leontius as czar in St. Peter's outside the city of Tarsus in Cilicia, prevailing¹²⁰ also¹²¹ him to be crowned. Leontius was a handsome, pock-marked, long-haired youth, pure white, with a straight nose, good eyes, and polite manners. Augusta Verina sent letters to the Antiochene Syrians, in order that they might accept Leontius as czar without opposition. She also wrote¹²² letters to the princes and the armies of the eastern Egyptian administration. These letters were first read in the praetorium of the *Stratelates* of Antioch and comprised the following message: "Humble¹²³ Verina, strict Augusta, to our Syrian Antiochene citizens. Know ye, that our rule still exists, and that after the death of the godly Leo, we had appointed the Czar Trascaliseus, named Zeno, wishing to restore theatres¹²⁴ and all army¹²⁵ ranks.¹²⁵ Now, seeing that the

¹¹⁹ Omitted.

¹²⁰ *having convinced Verina.*

¹²¹ *upon.*

¹²² *sent.*

¹²³ Literally, *quiet*. The Greek text has "Ailia Bêrina, perpetual Augusta," *Excerpta* 165, 30.

¹²⁴ The word, in a different spelling, may mean *ruins*.

¹²⁵ *do all properly*; the Slavonic word translated *army* is corrupt both in the text and the footnote. Following the Greek text, it is taken to mean *army*, or *military* ("stratiotika tagmata," *Excerpta*

city¹²⁶ with all the subjects is going backward, owing to his avarice, I considered it best to give you a pious Christian czar, adorned with truth, in order that the affairs of Roman cities¹²⁶ might increase, and all wars might cease, and obedient¹²⁷ to all the fundamental laws he might observe them. Accordingly, I appointed the pious Leontius as czar of the Romans; he shall do all things in accordance with forethought." Straightway, all the people rose up and exclaimed with one voice: "May God the Lord grant you things good and useful!" And (she)¹²⁸ left¹²⁹ the city of Tarsus. And Czar Leontius, the avenger, entered Antioch the Great alone, without¹³⁰ Illus,¹³⁰ in the consulship of Theuderich.¹³¹ And he, the avenger, assumed the czardom in Antioch, remaining there twelve days. He entered the palace of the city, and appointed Aelianus (Ellin)¹³² as eparch. And upon departing,¹³³ he fought the city of Chalcedon one and a half months.¹³⁴ When

165, 35), although the word is capable of emendation in the sense of *properly, certainly*. The word for *ranks* is in the text, but the footnote changes *chiny* into *chinê*, thus converting a plural noun, "ranks," into a verb, "doing."

¹²⁶ The Slavonic translator confuses "politeia" ("state") with "polis" ("city") ("politeian," *Excerpta* 165, 35). He uses the word *grad*, which can mean only "city," never "state."

¹²⁷ The Slavonic word, *pokr'nyya*, translated "obedient," is corrupted, and the meaning is not quite certain. It may be derived from the root of the word *pokrya* or *pokrov* (cover), or from *pokor* (obedience). I have taken it in the latter meaning.

¹²⁸ The form of the verb *left* does not indicate whether it was Verina or Leontius who left, that is, whether masculine or feminine gender is intended. But the footnote makes it feminine.

¹²⁹ *she left*.

¹³⁰ *headless*.

¹³¹ Cf. Theoph. 129, 29.

¹³² The Greek, "Ailianon," *Excerpta* 166, 10; "Lilianon," Theoph. 129, 31.

¹³³ Added, *and*.

¹³⁴ Omitted.

Czar Zeno learned of it, he sent many armies under *Stratelates* John the Scythian (Kuphin).¹³⁵ Hearing this, Illus the Great, who lived [in Isauria], wrote¹³⁶ to Leontius in Antioch that he should immediately leave Antioch.¹³⁷ And they both, with Pamprepnius, ran away and entered Papyrion (Pampurios), and a castle¹³⁸ in Isauria (Asyvria).¹³⁹ Verina, with her mother,¹⁴⁰ died in sorrow.¹⁴¹ Pamprepnius was accused as a traitor, was killed on a hill and his body was cast upon the hill.¹⁴² Illus and Leontius were surrounded in a blockade¹⁴³ and captured,¹⁴⁴ and carried before Czar Zeno and the spectators into the stadium; they were then speared and remained hoisted on the spear for many days.¹⁴⁵ All the people of Constantinople came out to see them.

IV. (B. 389-390). During his reign, the Persians were ruled by Perozes. Citizens of the party of the Greens, while watching in the hippodrome, began to fight with the Blues, by throwing stones.¹⁴⁶ Espying Thalassius (Fasius), Prince and Consul, they hit him on the head and drove him out of the hippodrome. Looking for the one who had struck him with the stone, he recognized him,

¹³⁵ *the Scythian*; the Greek, "the Scythian," 389, 5.

¹³⁶ *and wrote*.

¹³⁷ Cf. Theoph. 128, 30.

¹³⁸ The Greek, "the castle Papyrin," 389, 6.

¹³⁹ *Assuria*.

¹⁴⁰ *with her death*; i. e., died a natural death; the Greek, "by a natural death," 389, 7.

¹⁴¹ Omitted, also in the Greek, 389, 7; it may be translated, *in the mountain*.

¹⁴² *into a pit*.

¹⁴³ The Slavonic word is of uncertain meaning; the Greek, "were surrounded in a blockade," *Excerpta* 166, 21.

¹⁴⁴ Added, *and brought*.

¹⁴⁵ Cf. Theoph. 132, 13.

¹⁴⁶ Cf. *Excerpta* 166, 29-167, 20.

and sent to have him seized and brought to his praetorium.¹⁴⁷ They were bath keepers of the bath called Urbicius (Uvricius) and Eupatius, whom (they) immediately began to beat.¹⁴⁸ When the people of the party of the Greens were informed of this, they rushed into the consul's praetorium upon the Prince, and setting it on fire, burned the so-called Xystos, and the whole portico as far as¹⁴⁹ the Consul's praetorium was burned; then they liberated Olympius (?) (Alumpius).¹⁵⁰ Prince Thalassius (Valasios) ran

¹⁴⁷ The Slavonic word for *praetorium* is corrupted.

¹⁴⁸ The Slavonic text is corrupted; the phrase *bath keepers* is in the plural, and the name *Uvricius* modifies the noun *bath*; it is not clear, however, whether *Eupatius* is the name of the bath keeper or of the bath. The relative pronoun after *Eupatius* is in the singular, so that one cannot be certain whether there were two bath keepers or one. Both of the proper names are missing from the Greek text, which has only "he was a servant in a bath" (*Excerpta* 166, 36). C. E. Gleye (*Byz. Ztschr.*, III [1894], 626) believes that the Slavonic text is corrupted and that it represents a Greek text which read "he was a servant in a bath [named that of Urbicius, Olympius by name]." Possibly the Greek text which the Slavonic translator had before him was so corrupted that he did not understand it. This is suggested particularly by the plural verb in the present sentence, and it is not impossible that the omission of the proper names in the *Excerpta* indicates that the compiler of the *Excerpta* likewise did not understand his original; this might be indicated also by the fact that the text in the *Excerpta* states, a little later in the passage, only that the rioters "liberated the prisoner," while the Slavonic version gives his name, Olympius. See also below, note 150.

¹⁴⁹ The Slavonic word *do* may be translated "to," "up to," "as far as." The sentence means that the Xystos was burned, and that the portico was burned as far as the praetorium. Since the past participle *burned* is used twice, a distinction is made between the two structures.

¹⁵⁰ Presumably, this is the man who hit Thalassius with the stone. If the name Eupatius (see note 148) is to be referred to him, then it is difficult to understand why he is now called Olympius. The fact that he is now unambiguously given the name of Olympius would suggest that the two previous names refer to the bath, which possibly bore the double designation, or that the second name is a corruption of Olympius.

away from the city and took up his residence at a place called Hippocephalus; he renounced his rank, and Quadratus (Kondrat) assumed his place. But the mutiny in the city did not cease.¹⁵¹ After six months, Antiochenes of the party of the Greens again came and killed many during quarrels in the hippodrome, and burned a synagogue called Savinian,¹⁵² belonging to the Jews who had sided with the Blues, having plundered the synagogue and the inhabitants there. And Theodorus,¹⁵³ the *Comes* of the Orient, became angry, and pacified both parties of the city¹⁵⁴ of Antioch the Great. He then¹⁵⁵ walled up and barred a strong¹⁵⁶ door,¹⁵⁶ and spoke through a little window to those who came to express their thanks.¹⁵⁷ On receiving this information, the Greens, as dominant, quarreling¹⁵⁸ on account of a monk, set fire to the Jewish synagogue, which was located near the city walls. And exhuming the bones of the deceased Jews, who were (buried) along the synagogue, they gathered a large quantity of brush-wood and set it on fire, throwing them

¹⁵¹ Cf. Joh. Nik. 89, 23.

¹⁵² *Asavinian*; in view of the context, it seems likely that *Asavinian* or *Savinian* represents Greek "Asabinos," the name of a Jewish citizen of Antioch whose property was purchased for the site of the Plethron built under Didius Julianus (Malalas 290, 19); a meeting-house or synagogue might have been named for him either because he had owned the property or had donated or sold it to the Jewish community.

¹⁵³ *Theodorit*.

¹⁵⁴ Omitted.

¹⁵⁵ Added, *and*.

¹⁵⁶ *with strong timbers*; the Slavonic word is an abbreviation which may represent the word *temple*; in that case the translation would read *barred the doors of the temple*.

¹⁵⁷ The Slavonic text has evidently been abbreviated in this place; the present sentence should actually refer to a certain monk, not (as it implies in its present form) to the *Comes Orientis*.

¹⁵⁸ The Slavonic word is corrupted, and the meaning uncertain.

on the fire. They also burned the churches and temples of those areas¹⁵⁹ called Distadion.¹⁶⁰ These events were reported to Czar Zeno by the Jews who came and bowed down¹⁶¹ before him. And becoming angry¹⁶² with the Greens, he said: "Why did you burn only¹⁶³ the Jewish dead, and¹⁶⁴ did not throw into the fire¹⁶⁵ the living together¹⁶⁶ with the dead, and burn them?" After that the affair in Antioch ceased.

V. (B. 390-391). This Zeno once asked Maurianus, a most wise *comes*, who was familiar with occult sciences and who had made him many predictions, who should reign after him.¹⁶⁷ He saw¹⁶⁸ from him that someone from the *silentarii* should marry his wife and should reign. Hearing this, Zeno seized Patricius Pelagius, a wise man, a former *silentarius*, who had been promoted to the patrician rank, and inflicting humiliation on him, ordered

¹⁵⁹ The Slavonic word used in this connection is corrupted; it is possible that it originally read *stěny*, instead of *stegny*, for the former word is actually used in the sentence shortly before asserting that the synagogue was "near the city walls." If this guess is correct, then "walls" should be substituted for "areas."

¹⁶⁰ In such a context as this, the most probable explanation of the term *Distadion* is that this name was applied to a region in the southern part of the city, where there is a distance, between an earlier and a later wall, of almost exactly two stadia; see the plan of Antioch (with scale in stadia) published by C. R. Morey, "The Excavation of Antioch-on-the-Orontes," *Proceed. Amer. Philosoph. Soc.*, LXXVI (1936), 638.

¹⁶¹ It may also mean, *and joined (him)*.

¹⁶² Added, *the Czar*.

¹⁶³ Omitted.

¹⁶⁴ Omitted.

¹⁶⁵ Added, *and*.

¹⁶⁶ Omitted.

¹⁶⁷ Cf. *Chr. Pasch.* 606, *Joh. Nik.* 88, 92, *Theoph.* 134, 25, *Cramer, Anec. Par.* II, 315.

¹⁶⁸ The Slavonic word by a slight emendation could be changed into *learned*; presumably, that was the original version (cf. *Chr. Pasch.* 606, 6).

him guarded. While he was¹⁶⁹ under guard by the *excubitores*,¹⁷⁰ he was strangled by them by the order of the Czar, and his body was thrown into the sea by night. Hearing this, Eparch Arcadius denounced Czar Zeno on account of Patricius Pelagius, (saying) that he had been murdered. When Zeno heard it, he ordered Arcadius killed as he entered the palace. But Arcadius, having learned of it, as he was dismissed¹⁷¹ by the Czar, turned aside to the Great Church, wishing to worship there. As he descended from his carriage, he entered the Great Church and remained there and thus escaped a bitter death. Zeno ordered Arcadius' property to be confiscated. Zeno died ¹⁷²—at the age of sixty-five years and nine months. Thus from Adam to the death of Zeno there elapsed 5458 years and seven months.—¹⁷²

¹⁶⁹ Omitted.

¹⁷⁰ *guarding him.*

¹⁷¹ The Slavonic translator appears to have misunderstood the Greek, "sent for," 390, 17 (cf. *Chr. Pasch.* 606, 17).

¹⁷² Omitted. Cf. Theoph. 136, 18.

BOOK SIXTEENTH¹

I. (B. 392-399). After the reign of Zeno, reigned a Dyrrachian, Dikoros,² who had been a *silentiarius* of the New³ Persian eparchy,⁴ during the consulship of Olybrius, the son of Areobindus.⁵ He reigned twenty-seven years, nine months, and nine days. He was crowned in the month of Xanthikos,⁶ that is, April, on the holy Thursday of the Great Week.⁷ He married Czarina Ariadne,⁸ the wife of Zeno. He was very tall. Hearing that the Isaurians⁹ were gathering in their country intending to revolt, he sent against them a prince with an army and slaughtered them.¹⁰ During the reign of this¹¹ Anastasius, there appeared in Antioch the Great from the city of Amida a certain man, John Isthmeus (Isphemian) by name.¹² He knew the art of alchemy,¹³ was proud and of evil spirit, and bribed many silver dealers. He was exiled

¹ Book XVI is edited in accordance with the Synodical codex; the variants are taken from the Chudov codex.

² This was the nickname, "with two pupils" (i. e. with an eye defect), which was applied to Anastasius.

³ Omitted.

⁴ Anastasius was from New Epirus; the Slavonic translator confused "Epirus" with "eparchy" (cf. the Greek, 392, 2).

⁵ of Areovidos. Cf. *Chr. Pasch.* 607.

⁶ *Ksenpsik.*

⁷ Cf. Theoph. 136, 20.

⁸ *Arindea.*

⁹ *Saurians.*

¹⁰ Cf. Theoph. 137, 23.

¹¹ *his.*

¹² Cf. Theoph. 150, 12, Cramer, *Anec. Par.* II, 317, 33.

¹³ The Slavonic word is unintelligible; the translation follows the Greek, 395, 8.

to Petra. He¹⁴ abolished the service (i. e. payment) of the so-called chrysargyron¹⁵ from¹⁶ the divine constitution, which is a great and terrible hospitality.¹⁷ During his reign, the city of Amida, the metropolis of Mesopotamia, and Theodosiopolis, were taken by Kavād (Kold), the Persian Czar, who had come against the Greeks with a great force.¹⁸ This Kavād captured *Strategos* Constantine, with¹⁹ many others, and they died in the Persian country. Anastasius took up arms against the Persians, sending the *Stratelates* of the East,²⁰ Areobindus, the son of Dagalaiphus, [the husband]²¹ of Augusta Juliana, (and) *Stratelates* Patricius.²² And encountering each other in battle,²³ many fell on both sides. Afterwards there was peace. Czar Anastasius fortified the village Dara (Dorcas) of Mesopotamia.²⁴ Dara was named by Alexander the Macedonian, because there²⁵ Alexander²⁵ himself²⁵ had struck Czar Darius with a lance. It is named so on²⁶ that account. At present it is called Anastasiopolis.

¹⁴ The pronoun refers to Anastasius, not to John Isthmeus.

¹⁵ This tax was levied on all profits arising from trade.

¹⁶ This should undoubtedly be "by," instead of "from." But the Slavonic translator used *ot*, "from," apparently understanding the sentence in the sense that the service was deleted from the constitution.

¹⁷ The Slavonic translator evidently misunderstood Greek "philotimia," "generosity" (398, 7). Cf. Theoph. 143, 17, Evag. III, 39.

¹⁸ Cf. Theoph. 144, 24, Evag. III, 37.

¹⁹ Omitted, also in Greek, 398, 15.

²⁰ *to the East*.

²¹ Added; cf. the Greek, 398, 19.

²² Cf. Theoph. 145, 17.

²³ Added, *and*; the Greek, "and," 399, 2.

²⁴ Cf. W. Ensslin, "Zur Gründungsgeschichte von Dara-Anastasiopolis," *Byz.-neugr. Jahrb.*, V (1926/7), 342-347, and C. E. Gleye, *Byz. Ztschr.*, III (1894), 628. Cf. Evag. III, 37, *Chr. Pasch.* 608, Joh. Nik. 89, 32, Theoph. 150, 24.

²⁵ Omitted, also in the Greek, 399, 19.

²⁶ The passage from 26 to 29 replaced by another text.

II. (B. 400-402). During his reign he deposed Euphemius, the Patriarch of Constantinople, as a Nestorian, and exiled him to Euchaïta of Pontus.²⁷ Also Flavian, the Patriarch of Antioch the Great, was exiled as a Nestorian to the so-called city of Petra in Palaestina Tertia.²⁸ He appointed as patriarch of Antioch the Great the presbyter Severus, a former monk.²⁹ Comes John the Paphlagonian, called Caiaphas (Kaphian), introduced the circulation of copper coins throughout all the country and Greece. This Czar [set up]³⁰ along the roads³¹ copper statues which, being beautiful, had been brought by Czar Constantine from other cities for the adornment of his own city.³² But John, melting³³ them down, made a great statue of Czar Anastasius, which he placed on a great unoccupied column which stood in the market place of Taurus (Kaurus).³⁴ This column formerly bore the statue of Theodosius the Great, but it had fallen in ruin.³⁵ At that time the Czar issued a prohibition that no one³⁶ could adopt a son or daughter without a written permission, but ³⁷—securing the written permission, he could

²⁷ Cf. Joh. Nik. 89, 46, Theoph. 140, 19.

²⁸ Cf. Joh. Nik. 89, 69, Theoph. 156, 9, Evag. III, 32.

²⁹ Cf. Joh. Nik. 89, 71.

³⁰ Added; the Greek, "melted," 400, 23.

³¹ The Greek text states (400, 22) that John melted the statues of the "plateia" of Constantinople; the Slavonic translator chose to render "plateia" by *na putekh*, which can mean only "on" or "along the roads." Had he used the word *st'gna*, it could be interpreted as "street," "road," "area," "square." But he definitely understood the Greek "plateia" in the sense of "road."

³² Cf. Theoph. 149, 10, Cramer, *Anec. Par.* II, 317.

³³ Omitted.

³⁴ *Taurus*; the Greek, "Taurou," 401, 6.

³⁵ Or, *during an earthquake* (corresponding to the Greek text, 401, 7, Theoph. 149, 13, Cramer, *Anec. Par.* II, 317, 30).

³⁶ In the MS, the word is repeated.

adopt—³⁷ a son or daughter, and such as adopted son or daughter could become an heir of his property.³⁸

III. (B. 402-409). During his reign, Vitalian, incited by some deposed bishops, revolted against him.³⁹ He marched, plundering all Thrace and Europe, until he reached Sycae (Sukl)⁴⁰ and Anaplus (Aplun), planning to capture Constantinople. He camped at [A]naplus⁴¹ at Sosthenion, by the Church of the Archangel Michael. The Czar said to Proclus the Athenian: "What shall I do to this dog?" The philosopher Proclus ordered that a burning stone be brought and ground into fine powder, and ordered that it be strewn upon the warships at sunrise. And it set everything on fire, and they ran away. Thus Christ the Savior and the church conquered the ship. The burning stone, when thinly dispersed in⁴² the air,⁴² is ignited⁴² by the warmth of the sun. Thus it is always possible to set it on fire either on a ship or in a house. During his reign there arose a riot among the people⁴³ about the Christian faith caused by the Byzantines in Constantinople, because the Czar intended to add to the *trisagion* the phrase: "thou who wast crucified for us, have mercy upon us."⁴⁴ All the people of the city gathered

³⁷ Omitted.

³⁸ *to have*.

³⁹ Cf. *Excerpta* 169, 8, Evag. III, 43, Joh. Nik. 89, 71, Theoph. 160, 13 (with 157, 11), Cramer, *Anec. Par.* II, 316.

⁴⁰ *Dux*; Sycae is the present-day Galata.

⁴¹ *Dupla*; *Anaplus* represents the Greek "anaplos" (403, 3); the Slavonic text quite correctly treats it as a proper noun, the name of a place; such a place, of course, actually existed on the Bosphorus, and is at present known as Couroutchehmeh.

⁴² Omitted.

⁴³ *in the city*.

⁴⁴ Cf. Evag. III, 44, Joh. Nik. 89, 40, Cramer, *Anec. Par.* II, 316. On the relationship of the accounts of this in Malalas and Evagrius, see C. E. Gleye, *Byz. Ztschr.*, III (1894), 627.

and shouted loudly against this strange addition to the Christian faith. They gathered before the palace,⁴⁵ shouting that another czar should be appointed for the Romans. And going to the palace of Marinus the Syrian, who was of the Eparch,⁴⁶ they set his houses⁴⁷ on fire and plundered all his property, but did not find him. For he had hidden himself. They said that he, being an Easterner, had instigated the Czar to speak thus. The people chopped up his silver with axes⁴⁸ and divided it among themselves. And finding an Eastern monk in his house, they seized and killed him, struck his head on a spear and shouted: "This is the plotter against the Trinity!"⁴⁹ And having come to Juliana, the distinguished Patricia, they shouted, demanding that her husband, Areobindus, be named the czar⁵⁰—of the Romans. But Areobindus fled—⁵⁰ across the sea. The Czar immediately went to the *kathisma* without his crown. When the people learned of it, they gathered in the hippodrome. By his proclamation the whole city was called. Securing silence, he assured them that he would put on the crown and they dispersed. Many were seized, some were punished, and others were thrown into the sea by the city Eparch. After a short time the Czar saw in a dream that a man in white robes stood before him.⁵¹ He carried books, read,⁵² and turning the fifth⁵³ leaf of the book, he found the Czar's name, and said to

⁴⁵ with the palace.

⁴⁶ The Greek, "the former Eparch," 407, 10; the Slavonic translator misunderstood the sense of the preposition "apo."

⁴⁷ house; the Greek, "house," 407, 11.

⁴⁸ Omitted.

⁴⁹ *Czarina*.

⁵⁰ Omitted.

⁵¹ Cf. *Chr. Pasch.* 610, *Theoph.* 163, 31, *Cramer, Anec. Par.* II, 317.

⁵² *sacred*.

⁵³ *fifth* (referring to the book).

him: "Behold, on account of your avarice, I obliterate."⁵⁴ And saying that, he erased it with his finger. The Czar woke up in agitation, and called *cubicularius* Amantius (Mantius), the *praepositus*, and⁵⁵ said to him: "Live for ages, O Czar!" He said^d to him: "I saw in a dream this night that a certain great being⁵⁶ came and seized you by the edge of your purple mantle, shook you on the ground, threw you, tearing and biting." The Czar called Proclus, the [A]sian philosopher and interpreter of dreams, and told him of it. He told him that they would both die within the year. This⁵⁷—Anastasius distributed much (money) in the city, building much there as well as in many other cities—harbors, baths, and many other (buildings).⁵⁸ After a short time he fell sick and lay down. And during lightning and very great thundering, shaking, he gave up his spirit, at the age of ninety years and five months.—⁵⁷

⁵⁴ *I obliterate*; apparently the Slavonic translator misunderstood the cryptic original, "Behold, I obliterate fourteen (i. e. fourteen years)," 408, 17.

⁵⁵ The sense of the sentence would require "who" rather than "and," for it is Amantius who is speaking; but the text has *and*.

⁵⁶ Omitted, also in the Greek, 409, 2.

⁵⁷ Omitted from here to the end of the book.

⁵⁸ Cf. Joh. Nik. 89, 30.

BOOK SEVENTEENTH¹

An account of the sixteen years of Czar Justinian
and of the fall

I. (B. 410-412). After the reign of Anastasius the Dikoros, Justin, of Bederiana, a Thracian, reigned during the consulship of Magnus, in the month of Panemos (Janem), July the ninth, the eleventh indiction, 669 years after the foundation of Syrian Antioch.² He was crowned and appointed czar by the army and all the people. He had been the *Comes* of the *excubitores*. He reigned nine years and twenty-two days. He was of an average stature and skilful³ in war. As soon as he became Czar, he put to death Amantius, the *praepositus* and eunuch, Andrew Lausiacus,⁴ the *cubicularius*, and Theocritus, the *Comes, domesticus* of Amantius.⁵ This Amantius wished to set him up as czar,⁶ and gave Justin⁷ gold to be distributed among the people in order that they might appoint Theocritus czar. He distributed it. But the army and the people, having taken it,⁸ did not favor Theocritus as their czar, but set up Justin. After he became czar, he

¹ Book XVII is edited in accordance with the Synodical codex; the variants are taken from the Chudov codex.

² Cf. *Chr. Pasch.* 611.

³ *and distinguished.*

⁴ *Lavisisk*; this may have been derived from the palace of Lausus in Constantinople.

⁵ Cf. *Excerpta* 170, 18, *Evag.* IV, 2, *Chr. Pasch.* 611, *Joh. Nik.* 90, 3, *Theoph.* 165, 24, *Cramer, Anec. Par.* II, 318.

⁶ *as czar*; cf. the Greek, 410, 12.

⁷ Omitted.

⁸ Added, *the gold.*

put both of them to death inside the palace as his rivals. He recalled those whom the Prince before him had driven out. In the beginning of his reign, one evening a terrifying star comet arose toward⁹ the rising⁹ of the sun, extending its rays downward.¹⁰ It was interpreted by some as denoting persecution. They were afraid. During the first year of his reign, Severus, the Patriarch of Antioch the Great, fearing Vitalian, fled to Egypt.¹¹ And Paul became Patriarch of Antioch. He¹² had been the head of a hospice of Xenen and Eubulus (Eulos) of Constantinople.¹³ He ordered that the ecclesiastical books of the six hundred and thirty bishops of the Council of Chalcedon (be provided) in every city. On this account there arose a great dissension and many did not communicate with it, saying: "At the council they philosophise like Nestorius."¹⁴ During the reign of Justin, arose a certain woman of the Cilician region, of the race of giants, with a huge body, more than an ell taller and broader than any man.¹⁵ She passed through all the length of Greece, begging; she came to the great city of Antioch. There she collected from each workshop of the city one copper coin, and after accumulating¹⁶ forty silver coins, which Antiochenes call one *follis* (*feler*), she left that city.

II. (B. 412-416). During his reign, there was one

⁹ *in the East*; Greek, "in the East," 411, 11.

¹⁰ Cf. *Chr. Pasch.* 612, *Joh. Nik.* 90, 5, *Theoph.* 166, 6.

¹¹ Cf. *Joh. Nik.* 90, 7, *Theoph.* 165, 3, *Evag.* IV, 4.

¹² Omitted.

¹³ The Greek, "hospice (*xenodochôn*) of Eubulus," 411, 19; cf. *Theoph.* 165, 18.

¹⁴ This sentence, as well as the previous one, is not clear.

¹⁵ Cf. *Theoph.* 176, 29, *Cramer, Anec. Par.* II, 319, 15.

¹⁶ *gathering it until.*

Tzath (Chaphios),¹⁷ Czar of the Lazi,¹⁸ who came from Persia.¹⁹ In Persia reigned Kavad (Kad),²⁰ to whom Tzath was subordinated. Tzath, Czar of the Lazi of Persia, was of the Hellenic²¹ faith; he ran away²² and came to Czar Justin²³ to Constantinople, asking²⁴ to appoint a czar of the Lazi,²⁵ and that he would then become a Christian. He married a Greek²⁶ woman, Valeriana, a granddaughter of the Patricius Iotion,²⁷ who was a *curopalates*, and took her with him into his country. He was appointed and crowned by the Czar and wore the Roman czarist crown and an all-silk white *okril*,²⁸ under which, instead of a purple garment, was put a gold broad vestment with a little medallion ornamented with the portrait of himself;²⁹—and he wore a white tunic *paragaudion*, even more covered with gold, with a similar portrait—²⁹ of Czar Justin. His boots were of his own country, red, with pearls of the Persian³⁰—pattern; he also had a belt

¹⁷ *Tsapseos*, and so everywhere else; the Greek text has "Ztathios," 412, 16.

¹⁸ Lazica is a territory in Colchis.

¹⁹ Cf. *Chr. Pasch.* 613, Joh. Nik. 90, 35, Theoph. 168, 14.

²⁰ Omitted.

²¹ i. e., pagan (cf. 413, 2).

²² *he was*.

²³ *to Justin*; cf. the Greek, 413, 5.

²⁴ Added, *him*; the Greek, "him," 413, 6.

²⁵ The Slavonic translator omitted all the pronouns in this phrase, so that it is not clear whether Tzath asked the Czar to appoint him the czar of the Lazi, or whether the request was more general; actually, of course, he was appointed.

²⁶ In this case Greek does not mean "pagan"; the Greek, "Rhōmaian," 413, 8; cf. *Chr. Pasch.* 613, 16, Theoph. 168, 20.

²⁷ *Ivan*; the Greek has "Nomou," 413, 9.

²⁸ *oskril*; the Greek, "chlamyda," 413, 12; cf. *Chr. Pasch.* 613, 20, Theoph. 168, 23.

²⁹ Omitted; "paragaudion" (413, 15), transliterated in the Slavonic text; a garment with a purple border; cf. W. J. A. Visser, *Die Entwicklung des Christusbildes* (Diss., Bonn. 1934), 185.

with pearls.—³⁰ He, as well as his wife, Valeriana, as having been forced, by marrying him,³¹ to go³¹ to other³¹ kingdoms, received many gifts from Czar Justin. When Kavad, the Persian Czar, learned of it, he sent to Czar [Justin]³² the following: "Peace and love exist between us, why do you show enmity? You appointed as czar of the Lazi one who is subordinated to me, although they never were under the Roman administration, but for ages have been under³³ the Persian³³ sovereignty."³³ Czar Justin sent him this reply: "We neither received nor appointed any one under your rule. But a certain man, Tzath by name, came to our czardoms, praying to be freed from the polluted pagan (Hellenic) faith and impious sacrifices, and the unrighteous wiles of the devil, and to become a Christian, and to receive the strength of the eternal God, the creator of all things. In order to strengthen him who desired to receive consolation and to learn to know the true God, he was made a Christian, received the heavenly sacraments, and was sent to his country." And immediately wrath arose between the Romans and the Persians. But soon again love and peace were restored, because of tribute. During that same year, Paul, Patriarch of Antioch, died and was (succeeded by) Euphrasius, Patriarch of Jerusalem.³⁴ He instigated a great persecution of the so-called orthodox, and put many to death.

III. (B. 416-419). During the second year of the reign of Justin, the party of the Blues won the rule in all the cities, most of all in Antioch the Great.³⁵ They

³⁰ Omitted.

³¹ *a soldier and reigned.*

³² *to Justin; the Greek, "to Justin," 414, 1.*

³³ Omitted.

³⁴ Cf. Joh. Nik. 90, 14.

³⁵ Cf. Theoph. 166, 26.

slaughtered not only all the Greens they met, but even those who hid themselves in the house,³⁶ when they came out. This Justin commanded that the Olympic games be not held in Antioch. There had been many fires in Antioch, and after that fires again broke out in many parts of the city.³⁷ No one knew where the fires had originated. The fire was first caused by the roof bricks, and was, in the opinion of the Prince, the work of people at odds with one another.³⁸ At the prayer of the Patriarch Euphrasius, the Czar sent³⁹ the burned houses two *centenaria* of gold.⁴⁰ It happened⁴¹ that the city of Dyrrachium (Drach), which was Czar Anastasius' native city, was ruined by the wrath of God.⁴² He erected there many (buildings) and the hippodrome. Justin sent much (money) for the rebuilding of that city, which formerly had been called Epidaurus. And [Co]rinth, of the metropolitanate of Hellas, also had collapsed at the time and he likewise sent there much. The next year, during his reign, the city of Anazarbus (Anazavr),⁴³ the metropolis of Cilicia Secunda, collapsed by the wrath of God.⁴⁴ The Czar restored it. One evening of the same year, the city of Edessa, the metropolis of the great Osrhoëne (Ordon) eparchy, was flooded by the waters of the river by the wrath of God. It is called

³⁶ *in houses.*

³⁷ Cf. Joh. Nik. 90, 24, Theoph. 172, 1, Evag. IV, 5.

³⁸ *a criminal*; the word in the text is corrupted and the whole sentence is not clear.

³⁹ Added, *for*; the Greek, "for," 417, 18 (the number is omitted in Istrin's text).

⁴⁰ Added, *collected.*

⁴¹ Omitted.

⁴² Cf. Evag. IV, 8, Theoph. 168, 8. On the relationship of the remainder of this passage to the Greek text, see C. E. Gleye, *Byz. Ztschr.*, III (1894), 627.

⁴³ *edifice* or *edification.*

⁴⁴ Cf. Theoph. 171, 14, Cramer, *Anec. Par.* II, 319.

Scirtus, and flows through the midst of the city, beautifying it and supplying the needs of the city. Then by the wrath of God it became swollen with waters more than the sea, destroying the city and its⁴⁵ inhabitants, and overthrowing the standing houses. Those who occupied them shouted for mercy, but not finding any help, died in those houses. Other old (dwellers)⁴⁶ who were driven from the city, asserted that at other times the city had been inundated by this⁴⁷ river in a similar manner, but it had never destroyed all as now. Upon the cessation of the wrath and the subsiding of the water, some who were building foundations⁴⁸ of dwellings near the river, found a large stone slab on which in carved letters was the following (inscription): "The river Scirtus plays bad tricks upon the citizens."⁴⁹ Edessa had been built by Seleucus Nicator. This Seleucus the Macedonian had called it "Antioch mixed with barbarians." After its previous collapse, it was given its present name. The Czar sent much to the above-named city, and restored it, rebuilding it better than it had been before. He gave much also to those who had recovered. He named Edessa Justinopolis.

IV. (B. 419-421). Seventh⁵⁰ year and the tenth month of the reign, in the fourth indiction, Syrian Antioch the Great collapsed by the wrath of God.⁵¹ It was the fifth fall, (which occurred) in the month of Artemisios, which

⁴⁵ *their*.

⁴⁶ Omitted.

⁴⁷ Omitted.

⁴⁸ *foundations*; the word in the text is corrupted.

⁴⁹ Cf. a similar inscription quoted by Joh. Nik. 100, 3.

⁵⁰ *In the seventh*.

⁵¹ Cf. Evag. IV, 5, Joh. Nik. 90, 26, Theoph. 172, 11 (cf. 172, 30), Cramer, *Anec. Par.* II, 109, 110, 319.

is May, on the twenty-ninth day, at six o'clock and⁵² seven,⁵² during the consulship⁵³ of Olybrius in Rome. This fall was so immense that no human tongue⁵⁴—can describe it. The wondrous God in his marvelous providence⁵⁵ became so angry with the Antiochenes that he rose up—⁵⁴ against them and ordered those buried under the dwellings as well as those groaning⁵⁶ under the ground to be burned with fire. Sparks of fire filled the air and burned like lightning. There was found even burning and spurting soil of the earth, and coals formed from the soil. The foundations gave way, having been weakened [by the earthquake and burned by the fire. Those fleeing]⁵⁷ encountered fire and those hiding in houses were smothered. Except for the soil of the fields, the fire surrounded everything in the city,⁵⁸ as⁵⁹ if it had received a command from God that every living thing should be burned. Terrible and strange sights were to be seen: fire fell down from heaven in rain,⁶⁰ and burning rain fell, the flames poured in the rain, and fell as flame, soaking into the earth as it fell.⁶¹ And Christ-loving Antioch became desolate. Nothing remained in this famous city except only one row of dwellings built against the mountain. From the spring called the Olympias (Alumpiada) to the gates which are

⁵² Omitted.

⁵³ Two unintelligible words are omitted: *otdimu*, in the text, and *omidu* in the footnote.

⁵⁴ Omitted.

⁵⁵ This word, which is given in the text in contraction, may also mean "throne."

⁵⁶ The word literally means "to raise one's tongue."

⁵⁷ The Greek, ". . . having been weakened by the earthquake and burned by the fire, so that those fleeing . . ." 419, 12.

⁵⁸ Added, *the fire*.

⁵⁹ Omitted.

⁶⁰ *instead of rain*.

⁶¹ A variant; the Greek, "destroyed," 419, 17.

known as Draguon's,⁶² only demolished walls could be seen standing,⁶³ threatening death. Many of them fell, killing those living among them and burying (in the debris)⁶⁴ the passers-by. Not a single dwelling, nor any sort of house, nor a stall⁶⁵ of the city remained undestroyed. No holy church, nor a monastery, nor any other holy place was left unruined, nor⁶⁶ fell to the foundations by the wrath⁶⁷ of God.⁶⁷ Other⁶⁷ ruins were even more extensive. From the underground was thrown up as if sand of the sea, which was strewn upon the ground, having the moisture and the smell of sea water. The Great Church⁶⁸ which had been built by Czar Constantine the Great,⁶⁹ and which had no equal even among the Greeks, after everything else had fallen by the wrath of God, remained standing for five days after the punishment. But suddenly even it caught on fire and collapsed to the ground. Likewise,

⁶² *foundation of the city*; since no such gate is known from other evidence, and the reading given in the footnote differs so greatly from the text, the passage raises a grave doubt as to its accuracy. In the first place, the word translated as "known" literally means "heard," and is in itself quite unusual for such a frequently occurring expression. Secondly, the form of the proper name, *Draguonova*, could easily be derived from the phrase given in the footnote, *gradu osnova*. Thus it is possible that some transcriber misread the latter phrase, meaning "foundation of the city," and converted it into the proper name, *Draguonova*. That would explain the use of the unusual and inappropriate word, *slyshit*, "heard," for the customary *naritsaet*, "called." It would seem that the transcriber changed whatever the original word was in order to accommodate it to the meaning he put on the phrase.

⁶³ Added, *and*.

⁶⁴ The word in the text is corrupted; the translation follows the footnote.

⁶⁵ The Slavonic text has *kusha* for "stall." This is taken to stand for *kushta*, "tent," "hut," "covered place."

⁶⁶ *but*.

⁶⁷ Omitted.

⁶⁸ The Slavonic word in the text is in the plural.

⁶⁹ *of the city*, that is, "Constantine, (an official) of the city."

the great churches of Archangel Michael and the churches of the holy Virgin Mary fell to the ground. The Church of the Archangel⁷⁰ Michael had been erected by Czar Zeno. Both these sacred edifices had remained undamaged in any way by the earthquake, but by the wrath of God suddenly caught on fire, and the (Church of the) Holy Prophets together⁷¹ with the Church⁷² of Saint Zacharias afterwards fell to the ground. And other churches, not having been destroyed by the earthquake, were demolished to the foundations by the fire. According to the testimony of witnesses, the number of those who perished, citizens and strangers, men and women, children and old people, amounted to two hundred and fifty thousand souls. For it had occurred on the feast of the Ascension of our God and Savior, and a great multitude had assembled. And as soon as according to custom the bells of the church named Kration began to ring in the city for the holy marriage, that moment the earthquake began. The multitude of the citizens was great. Their possessions, riches, and the length and width of their landed property, were⁷³ countless.⁷³ The splendor of the city, its good climate, and the beauty of its churches, were such that those strangers who had seen them before, and came there afterwards, exclaimed: "So greatly the peaceful harbor of the world, the refuge of the universe, has been emptied! Where is the human race and its goodness?"⁷⁴ Many of those sent⁷⁵

⁷⁰ Omitted.

⁷¹ Added, *and*.

⁷² *church and*.

⁷³ Omitted.

⁷⁴ The Slavonic text is very difficult, and does not yield clear sense. The whole apostrophe may be translated literally as follows: *How greatly has the harbor, the universal refuge, been deserted! Where the creatures and their goodness?* The Greek original might have

were pulled out alive, but⁷⁶ died; some of the uninjured citizens seized whatever they could⁷⁷ of the necessities for the future,⁷⁸ and carrying⁷⁹ it ran away. They were met by soldiers and strangers who happened to be there, (who) robbed⁸⁰ and despoiled them. They were likewise robbed by bandits, who killed many of those refusing to surrender their (property). There remained to them no hope of any other possessions but their own life, and even of that those who were killed, were deprived. Having⁸¹ entered, the strangers pillaged in the ruins. They found caskets of silver plate, as well as, lying scattered about, silver and gold coins. They found many women bedecked with much gold, precious stones, and pearls. Upon these bandits and strangers was manifested the power of God. Whenever they were minded to rob whomever they pleased,⁸² all suddenly died and not one of them was left alive. Some of them rotted, others were broken in body by hand,⁸³ and confessing their sins, gave up their souls. Among them was a certain Thomas, surnamed of Evreos (Erveos),⁸⁴ a *silentarius* by rank, who committed many robberies with his slaves. He had escaped the earthquake unscathed, and lived outside the city two or three stadia away, opposite

read somewhat as follows: "What has become of all the inhabitants, and what has become of all their beautiful work?"

⁷⁵ buried (in ashes), as in the Greek, 420, 10.

⁷⁶ Omitted.

⁷⁷ possessions they had.

⁷⁸ which they took with them; the whole sentence is so obscure that the translation is only approximate.

⁷⁹ not expecting.

⁸⁰ Added, them.

⁸¹ Omitted.

⁸² The phrase is of uncertain meaning.

⁸³ The Slavonic text is unintelligible; possibly instead of the word *rukodêlie* which is now found in the text, it should be *rukodêistvie*, that is, cutting off the members of the body, usually surgically.

⁸⁴ Might this be, the Hebrew?

the gates of Saint Julian. There he despoiled those who in the fear of God were passing by or ran by. This bandit took much gold especially from those who were buried (in the ruins). He carried this on for four days, gathering much gold, silver, and other property. Destroying all, he suddenly collapsed, although healthy and strong, and unprepared gave up his soul, not having been able even to count up all he had stolen. All who heard it, praised God, the righteous judge. All his property was dissipated among the chieftains, and stolen and destroyed, so that nothing was left him but the robe he wore. He was buried in the ruins on the same spot, on account of the fear of the citizens clamoring against him. There appeared also certain divine wonders: pregnant women, who had been buried (in the ruins), after twenty-one days came out whole. Many also gave birth to children under the debris which covered the ground, came out after some days with new-born infants scatheless [and]⁸⁵ alive with the children borne by them. Other children died⁸⁶ after thirty days, and others were next to their mothers who had died and lay by them, but the children were alive, lying by them and being suckled by the dead women. And many other even more wonderful and incredible things happened, which no human tongue can express, and of which only the immortal God knows the secret. On the third day after the fall, that is, on Sunday at eight o'clock, there appeared in the heavens the holy cross upon the clouds,⁸⁷ on the

⁸⁵ Added, *and*; the Greek, "and," 421, 6.

⁸⁶ The Slavonic word used here, *str'bleisha*, or the one in the footnote, *str'bnêisha*, is a corruption from *str'vo*, "dead body." It is possible that the phrase originally signified that dead mothers gave birth to children thirty days after their death; but at present this sense cannot be derived from the phrase.

⁸⁷ *in an image*.

west side of the city. And all seeing it, beat (their breasts), weeping and⁸⁸ praying⁸⁸ for one and a half hours. So long did it remain, having appeared ⁸⁹—in the heavens. After—⁸⁹ the fall of the city, there were a great many other earthquakes, referred to from that day as times of death,⁹⁰ which lasted for one year and a half. Of the remaining, none collapsed; neither temple nor church, nor by any other fall which attempted it⁹¹ at all times. It seemed as if someone said,⁹² it had been ordained of God, the lover of mankind, that they stand and fall not, and they survived the later (falls). But Seleucia and Daphne (Kali-daphne), and its neighborhood for twenty stadia in length and width, were completely ruined by the earthquake. The divine Czar Justin sent for the restoration of the ruined cities more *centenaria* of gold than any other czar. As soon as he heard of it, he took off his crown and the purple robe, mourned for a long time and wept, and would not do anything, nor were there any performances in Constantinople.⁹³ For he knew the city of Antioch and praised and loved it. Thus, on the holy Thursday of the Great Week, after ⁹⁴—having heard about the city,—⁹⁴ he went to the Church of Constantinople, walking from the palace to the cathedral without his crown and only in his purple robe, and wept before the nobles and the citizens. All the nobles, seeing him, dressed in mourning robes.

V. (B. 422-424). At first, the Czar sent from

⁸⁸ Omitted.

⁸⁹ Omitted.

⁹⁰ The Slavonic text is so corrupted that the sense is uncertain.

⁹¹ The Slavonic word literally means "to outwit," "to deceive," "to tempt."

⁹² Omitted.

⁹³ Cf. Theoph. 173, 1.

⁹⁴ Omitted.

Constantinople Comes Carinus with five *centenaria* for the excavation work, not for those who had escaped death with their belongings, but for investigation of this reported beautiful fall.⁹⁵ Upon returning, he was to report to the Czar what should be done. Moreover, he immediately sent Patricius Phocas, (son) of Craterus (Crater), a rich man, in company with Patricius Asterius, a wise man, the former *referendarius* and city eparch, instructing them: "Both of you take care to save the men and to restore quickly all the buildings of the city." He gave them much gold and instructed them about other places in the city, as well as about public baths, the water system, and places⁹⁶ of the river,⁹⁷ as he was personally acquainted with that city. For a long time he had enjoyed living in that city, when he, together with his *stratelateis*, took part in the war with the Persians. For many days he worried⁹⁸ about his⁹⁹ city and wrote to those patricii asking them: "How many *centenaria* do you need, inform me, I will send them."¹⁰⁰ After eight days,¹⁰¹ other¹⁰¹ nine months and five days of the reign of Justin, the divine Justinian, his kinsman, a marvel of the world,¹⁰² with Czarina Theodora, became Czar¹⁰³ along with him.¹⁰⁴ He was appointed and crowned by the divine Justin, his uncle, in the month of Xanthikos, on the first, in the fifth indiction, and in the

⁹⁵ terrible fall.

⁹⁶ should read bridges, as in Greek, 422, 5.

⁹⁷ of the mountain

⁹⁸ said: "Take care."

⁹⁹ my.

¹⁰⁰ Added, to you.

¹⁰¹ years and.

¹⁰² The word in the text is corrupted; the translation follows the footnote.

¹⁰³ served.

¹⁰⁴ Cf. Evag. IV, 9, Chr. Pasch. 616, Joh. Nik. 90, 47, Theoph. 173, 13.

fifty-fifth year, or 770th after the foundation of Antioch the Great, during the consulship of Mavortius (Maurtius)¹⁰⁵ in Rome. He sent¹⁰⁶—and built—¹⁰⁶ much.¹⁰⁷ Both these czars persecuted the foes of God, the Manichaeans, and tortured many, including the wife of a patricius, and Andronicus¹⁰⁸ [and]¹⁰⁹ others with her. From that time theatres were forsaken. For the rebuilding of the city thirty *centenaria* were given and ten for restoring the churches. It happened at the time that the divine Justin fell ill from three wounds in his foot where he had been shot in a battle; he died¹¹⁰ in the month of Loos or August, on the first day of the week, at three o'clock, in the fifth indiction.¹¹¹ He died at the age of seventy-seven. The total number of the years of his reign, including the four months which he reigned together with his nephew, was nine years and twenty-two days.

¹⁰⁵ *Mauretius*.

¹⁰⁶ *sending, he built*.

¹⁰⁷ Cf. Joh. Nik. 90, 50.

¹⁰⁸ It is impossible to tell whether this name is a masculine, —*us*, or a feminine, —*a*, for the Slavonic accusative of the masculine form ends in —*a*, just as the feminine nominative does. In case it is the feminine, then the *and* preceding the name is to be disregarded: *the wife . . . Andronica*.

¹⁰⁹ Added, *and*; the Greek, "and," 423, 18.

¹¹⁰ *and he died*.

¹¹¹ Cf. *Chr. Pasch.* 617, Theoph. 173, 17.

BOOK EIGHTEENTH¹

Part seventeenth, the sixth collapse of Antioch

I. (B. 425-428). After the reign of Justin, Justinian (Justian) reigned alone, reckoning² the years² from the time when he had been appointed czar, that is, from the month of Xanthikos, which is April, the fourth, the fifth indiction, the seventy-fifth³ year according to the Antiochenes, in the consulship of Mavortius (V'rtius) in Rome.⁴ He was of low stature; he did not speak the Roman⁵ correctly, but he wrote it without mistake. During his consulship in the sixth indiction he strewed about and distributed so much gold as no previous czar had done during his consulship. In the same year, together with Lazos Tzath (Chaphios)⁶ who was allied with the Greeks, he engaged in a war with the Persians.⁷ According to Lazos' request to Czar Justinian, the latter sent him considerable help, and three *stratelateis*, Belisarius, Cerycus (Kirik), and Irenaeus (Prineus)⁸ of Peidakia (Peidakia). Many Persians were killed. This Czar restored the city of Martyropolis of the Armenian Sophene

¹ Book XVIII is edited in accordance with the Synodical codex; the variants are taken from the Chudov codex.

² Omitted.

³ The Greek text has 575th (425, 4); the letter representing 500 (*phi*) has been lost in the Slavonic text.

⁴ Cf. *Chr. Pasch.* 617.

⁵ *the Roman language.*

⁶ This is Tzath, King of the Lazi, mentioned previously; the Slavonic could also be construed as *Tzath, the Lazos.*

⁷ Cf. *Chr. Pasch.* 618, *Joh. Nik.* 90, 52, *Theoph.* 174, 19.

⁸ *Prinos.*

(Suphania), erecting new walls and⁹ porticoes, which had fallen down with age.¹⁰ During his reign the Czar of the Heruli (Erules), Gratis by name, allied himself with the Greeks and came to Constantinople with his army, and bowed before the Czar, [and]¹¹ asked to become a Christian.¹² He was baptized on the day of Epiphany, and was lifted up from the baptistry by Czar Justinian himself. Together with him were baptized his nobles and two of his nephews. Giving him many gifts, the Czar dismissed him. During ¹³—his reign, every kind of heresy was proscribed and expelled from the church, except the Hexacionitae,¹⁴ called the Arians.—¹⁵

II. (B. 428-429). From the beginning of the reign of Emperor¹⁵ Augustus Octavianus to the end of the second consulship and the seventh indiction of Justinian, 689 years elapsed. Then from Adam, the first-created, to the ecclesiastical consulship of divine Justinian, to the termination,¹⁶ all years to the end of the indiction are 6007. According to the chronology of the Antiochenes, who are citizens of the Orient, Syrians, beginning with Julius Caesar, there are 577 years. According to the

⁹ new; in the MS, *nemovoli*, in the Greek, "and the emboloi," 427, 16.

¹⁰ were old.

¹¹ Added, *and*; the Greek, "and," 427, 20.

¹² Cf. Theoph. 174, 27, Evag. IV, 20.

¹³ Omitted. Cf. Theoph. 176, 17.

¹⁴ This nickname was given the Arians during the reign of Theodosius the Great, because they were forced by the Emperor to hold their meetings outside Constantinople, and chose a place outside the Walls of Constantine, but still within the Wall of Theodosius, called Exokionion. See "Map of Byzantine Constantinople" in A. van Millingen, *Byzantine Constantinople* (London, 1899).

¹⁵ *Julius*.

¹⁶ The meaning of the Slavonic expression is not clear. The word *otlozheniye* literally means "putting away."

Alexandrians, who are Egyptians of the Nile, and who begin from Diocletian, the years are 245. According to the so-called Syrian Macedonians of Apamea, who begin from Seleucus Nicator, there are 400 years, as we find the computations¹⁷ in the writings of the number of years of the most wise chroniclers, Timothy and Theophilus, who spoke accurately. In the annals of Eusebius (Euseus)¹⁸ Pamphili we find the computation¹⁹ of years from Adam to the consulship of Justinian and to his seventh indiction amounting to 6032 years. This is correct, as they think who follow Theophilus, Timothy, and Clement, who calculated the years and recorded them in their respective writings. They all assert in their writings that six thousand years had passed and in the seventh millenium and the seventh indiction grace entered the world through the Theotokos, with the true God.²⁰ From the foundation of the world²¹ to the second consulship of the divine Justinian there elapsed 1200²² years, no ²³—less, no more.—²³ From the foundation of the most opulent city of Constantinople, that is, from the month of May and Artemisios the eleventh, to the above-mentioned second consulship of divine Justinian, and to the end of the seventh indiction there elapsed 199 years, no less, no more. It is impossible to calculate the years of the former czars in accordance with the above-given figures, [for they reigned sometimes two together,]²⁴ for the fathers crowned

¹⁷ *number.*

¹⁸ *Eusevius.*

¹⁹ *number.*

²⁰ *with grace.*

²¹ Should read *Rome*, as in the Greek, 428, 20.

²² 6032.

²³ Omitted.

²⁴ Added in the Greek, "for they reigned two together," 429, 3.

their children even in infancy [and]²⁵ shared the rule with their children. Others reigned in Rome. A historian must describe everything²⁶ as it is: which czar reigned, and at what time he was appointed czar. For it is pleasing to readers of the chronicles to observe the chronology of current years, and not only about the formerly described reigns.

III. (B. 429-431). During these years, while Justinian ruled the Romans²⁷ in Constantinople, Kavad Darasphen ruled the Persians. He was the elder²⁸ son²⁸ of Firus (Perozes, Perezis).²⁸ In Rome, Alarich (Atalarich)²⁹ was Rex³⁰; he was the grandson of Valameriacus (Alemeriak). In Africa, Gilderich (Saldarich) was Rex. In India, the Axumites³¹ and Homerites were ruled by Andas (Iadas), a Christian.³² In Lazica reigned Samanazos (Zamala). During the above-mentioned years of the reign of Justinian, he [appoint]ed as *stratelates* of Armenia one Chitutas³³ by name.³⁴ Armenia formerly never had a *stratelates*, [but]³⁵ satraps, *duces*, *comites*, [and]³⁶ princes. The Czar gave this *Stratelates* a separate army, and set up a native rank of *scriniarii*³⁷; he created for his own service an army of the *stratelates*. The *Stratelates* was of great protection and help to the Greeks

²⁵ Added, *and*; the Greek, "and," 429, 4.

²⁶ *all*.

²⁷ *in Rome and*.

²⁸ Omitted.

²⁹ *Altirich*.

³⁰ Omitted, also in the Greek, 429, 12.

³¹ *Ksumitorm*.

³² Cf. Joh. Nik. 90, 72.

³³ *Chititas*; in the Greek, "Ztittas," 429, 17.

³⁴ Cf. Theoph. 175, 5.

³⁵ Added in the Greek, "but," 429, 19.

³⁶ Added, *and*; the Greek, "and," 429, 19.

³⁷ *skiria*.

settled there.³⁸ He was a good man and courageous. He took as his wife the sister of the pious³⁹ Czarina,³⁹ Komito by name, marrying⁴⁰ her lawfully in the palace of Antiochus, near the hippodrome of Constantinople. In that year the Czar ordered a statute regarding bishops, oeconomes, and heads of orphanages and charitable institutions, forbidding them to dispose by will anything beyond what each had possessed before, this and⁴¹ this⁴¹ alone he might bequeath.⁴² As soon as (such a person) be appointed, he must declare in writing what property he has. Thereafter, he is subject to ecclesiastical jurisdiction, which is as follows: whatever is received or gained, must all go to the church or the institution which he administers, everything that he has acquired after that.⁴³ In that year he rebuilt a ruin, called the place of figs,⁴⁴ opposite Constantinople, with its theatre and walls; he gave the city an administrator and called it Justinianopolis. Also in that year the Regina⁴⁵ of the Huns, called Sabeiroy (Savin),⁴⁶ allied herself with⁴⁷ the Greeks.⁴⁸ She was a foreign woman, good in quantity⁴⁹

³⁸ Omitted.

³⁹ of the pious Czar.

⁴⁰ Omitted.

⁴¹ Omitted.

⁴² put forth; the sense of this whole sentence is dubious. In the first place, the Slavonic word *prichashchatisya*, translated "dispose by will," may be interpreted as "take share," "commune," "take communion," "inherit," or "dispose by will." In the second place, since the word *prilozhit*, "to contribute," translated as "dispose of," is given in the footnote as *prêdlozhit*, "to put forth," it would seem that the original meaning of the sentence was changed. Cf. Theoph. 176, 20, Cramer, *Anec. Par.* II, 320.

⁴³ That is, after taking the office.

⁴⁴ This is the suburb of Sycae, the present Galata.

⁴⁵ Should read *Regissa*, as in the Greek, 430, 20.

⁴⁶ *Savr.*

⁴⁷ *to.*

⁴⁸ Cf. Joh. Nik. 90, 61, Theoph. 175, 12.

⁴⁹ The Slavonic word *mnozhestvo*, means "quantity," "multiplicity";

and intelligence, Regina Voa by name.⁵⁰ She was a widow, and had two small sons; with them (she had) [hundred]⁵¹ thousand (warriors) with whom she ruled the [Hun]⁵² country after the death of her husband, Vlach. By the love of the divine Justinian, she received many gifts of pearls, gold and silver utensils and other gold. There were two other reges⁵³ of another Hun tribe, Sturax and Eglon, who had been appointed by Kavad (Akad), the Czar of Persia, to help him go against the Romans.⁵⁴ Regina Voa seized them as they were crossing her⁵⁵ country to Persia to Kavad (Kad), the Czar of Persia; they had twenty thousand soldiers with them, which multitude her men cut down. Rex Sturax alone was captured. She sent him bound to Justinian to Constantinople, and ⁵⁶—he was hung opposite,⁵⁷ at St. Conon's (Konak).—⁵⁸

it appears to be a corruption of *muzhat'stvo*, "manlike," which would represent the Greek "andreia" exactly, 430, 21.

⁵⁰ "By name Bôarêx," Theoph. 175, 13; "by name Bôa," Mal. 430, 22.

⁵¹ Supplied from the Greek, 431, 1; the text contains an unintelligible word, *dor*, which is probably a corruption.

⁵² A variant; cf. the Greek, 431, 1; in the MS, a lacuna caused by a burned hole.

⁵³ Added, *sons*.

⁵⁴ The Slavonic text beginning with *By the love of* . . . is not clear. Comparison with the Greek text (431, 2) makes it plain that either the translator dropped out a phrase, or the transcribers omitted it. In the present Slavonic version the sentence beginning with *By the love* . . . is incomplete. The translation represents such emendation as is possible under the circumstances.

⁵⁵ *all*.

⁵⁶ Omitted. This is followed in the Synodical MS by a note in red: *The Hellenic versifier has ended* (it is possible that *grano-graf*, translated *versifier*, should be *khronograf*, *chronicler*).

⁵⁷ The word *obonu*, translated *opposite*, stands for the Greek "peran" (431, 13), i. e., "on the other side," on the modern Pera side of the Golden Horn. St. Conon monastery was in the thirteenth region, across the Golden Horn, and was close to the place of execution.

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